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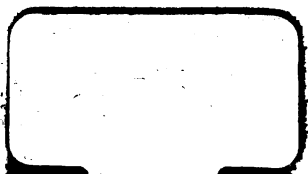
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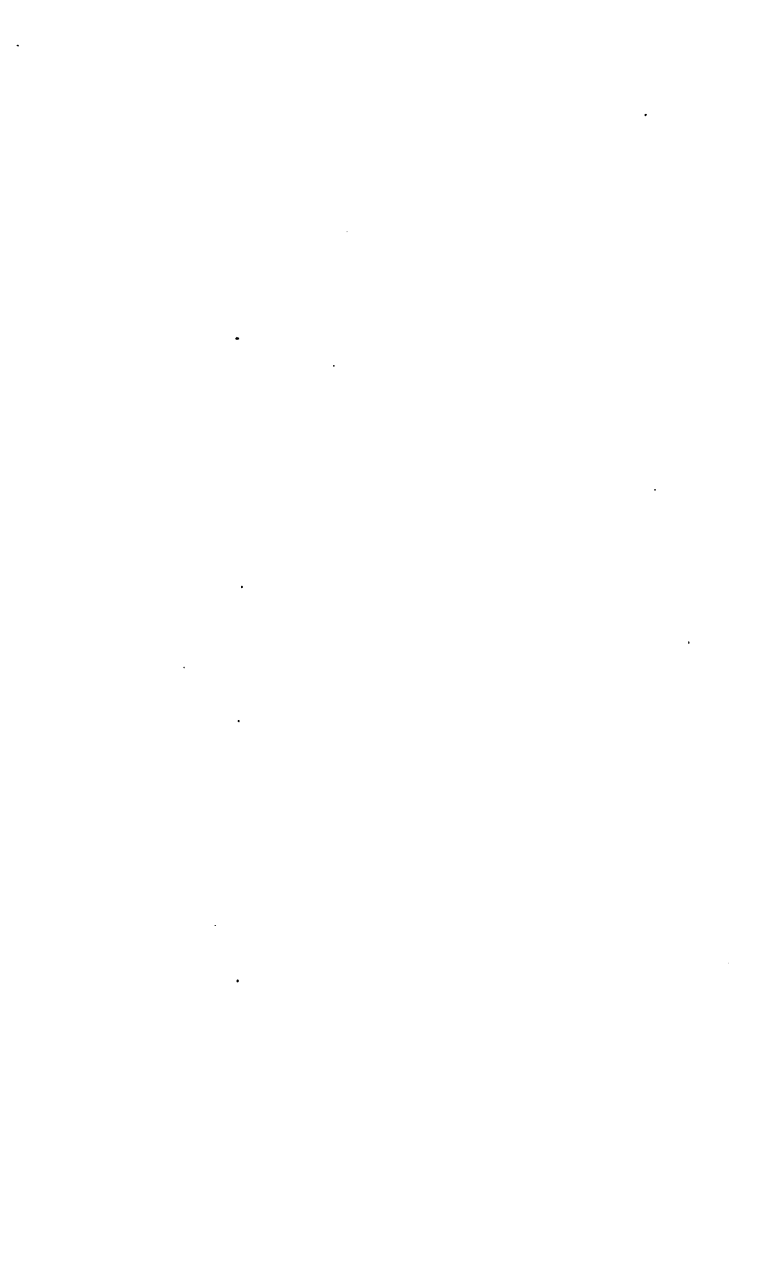
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THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF

THE EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES
AND PERSIANS, GREEKS AND MACEDONIANS

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY THE REV. R. LYNAM, A. M.

ASSISTANT CHAPLAIN TO THE HAGUEN HOSPITAL.

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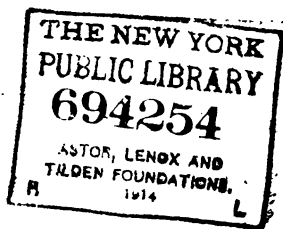
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BOOK II.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

CARTHAGINIANS.

PART II.

SECT. II. DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND MASINISSA, KING OF NUMIDIA.

AMONG the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which enacted, that they should restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the war; and farther, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had shown towards the Romans, had added to his dominions those of Syphax. This present afterwards gave rise to disputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

These two princes, Syphax and Masinissa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned over different nations. The subjects of Syphax were called Massesuli, and their capital was Cirtha. Those of Masinissa were the Massyli: but they are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them both. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. They always rode without saddles, and some even without bridles, whence Virgil calls them *Numidæ infræni*.*

In the beginning of the second punic war,† Syphax siding with the Romans, Gala, the father of Masinissa, to check the career of so powerful a neighbour, thought it his interest to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly sent out against Syphax a powerful army under the conduct of his son, at that time but seventeen years of age. Syphax, being overcome in a battle, in which it is said he lost 30,000 men, escaped into Mauritania. However, the face of things was afterwards greatly changed.

* *Æt.* l. iv. ver. 41.

† *Liv.* l. xxiv. n. 43, 49

Masinissa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin;* being driven from his kingdom by a usurper; pursued warmly by Syphax; in danger every instant of falling into the hands of his enemies; destitute of forces, money, and of every resource. He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse, and from that time continued inviolably attached to the Roman interest. Syphax, on the contrary, having married the famous Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.†

The fate of these two princes again changed, but the change was now final.‡ Syphax lost a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophonisba, whose charms and endearments he was unable to resist. To secure this princess to himself, he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to send her a dose of poison, as her nuptial present; this being the only way he could devise to keep his promise with his queen, and preserve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a considerable error in itself, and one that could not fail to disoblige a nation that was so jealous of its authority: but this young prince gloriously made amends for his fault, by the signal services he afterwards rendered to Scipio. We observed, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were bestowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to restore all he possessed before.§ This gave rise to the divisions which we are now going to relate.

A territory situated towards the sea-side, near the lesser Syrtis, was the subject of the dispute.|| The country was very rich, and the soil extremely fruitful; a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis alone, which belonged to that territory, paid daily a talent to the Carthaginians, by way of tribute. Masinissa had seized part of this territory. Each side despatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cause of their respective superiors before the senate. This assembly thought proper to send Scipio Africanus, with two other commissioners, to examine the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any decision, and left the business in the same uncertain state in which they had found it. Possibly they acted in this manner by order of the senate, and had received private instructions to favour Masinissa, who was then possessed of the district in question.

A. M. 3823. Ten years after,¶ new commissioners having been
A. Rom. 567. appointed to examine the same affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.

* Liv. l. xxix. c. 29-34. † Id. l. xxix. c. 23. ‡ Id. l. xxx. c. 11, 12. § Liv. l. xxx. c. 44. || Id. l. xxxiv. c. 62. ¶ Id. l. x. c. 47.

A. H. 303. After the like distance of time, the Carthaginians **A. Rom. 577.** again brought their complaint before the senate, but with greater importunity than before.* They represented, that besides the lands at first contested, Masinissa had, during the two preceding years, dispossessed them of upwards of seventy towns and castles: their hands were bound up by that article of the last treaty, which forbade their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans: that they could no longer bear the insolence, the avarice, and cruelty, of that prince: that they were deputed to Rome with three requests (one of which they desired might be immediately complied with,) viz. either that the affair might be examined and decided by the senate; or, secondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themselves by arms; or, lastly, that, if favour was to prevail over justice, they then entreated the Romans to specify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were desirous should be given up to Masinissa, that they, by this means, might hereafter know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would show some moderation in their behalf at a time that this prince set no other bounds to his pretensions, than his insatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beseeching the Romans, that if they had any cause of complaint against the Carthaginians since the conclusion of the last peace, that they themselves would punish them; and not to give them up to the wild caprice of a prince, by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives insupportable. After ending their speech, being pierced with grief, shedding floods of tears, they fell prostrate upon the earth; a spectacle that moved all who were present to compassion, and raised a violent hatred against Masinissa. Gulussa, his son, who was then present, being asked what he had to reply, he answered, that his father had not given him any instructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only desired the senate to reflect, that the circumstance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was, the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to the side of the Romans. The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, that they were inclined to do justice to either party to whom it might be due: that Gulussa should set out immediately with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded to send immediately deputies with those of Carthage: that they would do all that lay in their power to serve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians: that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans, to have the Carthaginians dispossessed, during the peace, of those territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then dismissed with the usual presents.

But all these assurances were but mere words.† It is plain that

* Id. l. xlii. n. 23, 24.

† Polyb. p. 951.

the Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians, or do them the least justice; and that they protracted the business, on purpose to give Masinissa time to establish himself in his usurpation, and weaken his enemies.

A. M. 3948. A new deputation was sent to examine the affair
A. Rom. 582. upon the spot, and Cato was one of the commissioners.* On their arrival, they asked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Masinissa readily complied. The Carthaginians answered, that they had fixed a rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded by Scipio, and desired that their cause might be examined with all possible rigour. They therefore could not come to any decision. The deputies visited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage: and they were surprised to see it, after having been involved in such a calamity, so soon again raised to so exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The deputies, on their return, did not fail to acquaint the senate with this circumstance; and declared, Rome could never be in safety so long as Carthage should subsist. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion, *and I conclude that Carthage ought to be destroyed.* This grave senator did not give himself the trouble to prove, that bare jealousy of the growing power of a neighbouring state, is a warrant sufficient for destroying a city, contrary to the faith of treaties. Scipio Nasica, on the other hand, was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth; because that the Romans having then no rival to fear, would quit the ancient severity of their manners, and abandon themselves to luxury and pleasures, the never failing subverters of the most flourishing empires.

In the mean time, divisions broke out in Carthage.† The popular faction, being now become superior to that of the grandees and senators, sent forty citizens into banishment, and bound the people by an oath, never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masinissa, who despatched Gulussa and Micipsa, his two sons, to Carthage to solicit their recall. However, the gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic. This gave occasion to a new war, and accordingly armies were levied on both sides. A battle was fought; and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was spectator of it. He had been sent from Lucullus, who was then carrying on war in Spain, and under whom Scipio then served, to Masinissa, to desire some elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement, he stood upon a neighbouring hill; and was surprised to see Masinissa, then upwards of eighty years of age, mounted (agreeably to the custom of the country) on a horse without a saddle: firing

from rank to rank like a young officer, and sustaining the most arduous toils. The fight was very obstinate, and continued from morning till night, but at last the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio used to say afterwards, that he had been present at many battles, but at none with so much pleasure as this; having never before beheld so formidable an army engage, without any danger or trouble to himself. And being very conversant in the writings of Homer, he added, that, till his time, there were but two more who had the pleasure of being spectators of such an action, viz. Jupiter from mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the sight of 100,000 men for (so many there were) butchering one another, can administer a real pleasure; or whether such a pleasure is consistent with the sentiments of humanity, so natural to mankind.

The Carthaginians,* after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their contests with Masinissa. Accordingly, he heard both parties, and the Carthaginians consented to yield up the territory of Emporium,† which had been the first cause of the dispute, to pay Masinissa 200 talents of silver down, and 800 more at such times as should be agreed. But Masinissa insisting on the return of the exiles, and the Carthaginians being unwilling to agree to this proposition, they did not come to any decision. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants for which he had been sent.

The king,‡ immediately after the battle was over, had blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor provisions could come to them. During this interval, there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the senate to decide the quarrel. in case the king should be defeated; otherwise, to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the strongest assurances of the continuation of their friendship; and they complied with the latter injunction. In the mean time, the famine daily increased in the enemy's camp; and to add to their calamity, it was followed by a plague, which made a dreadful havoc. Being now reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered to Masinissa, promising to deliver up the deserters, to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and restore the exiles, notwithstanding their oaths to the contrary. They all submitted to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke,§ and were dismissed, with only one suit of clothes

* App. de bell. Pun. 40.

† Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Lesser Syrtis, in which Leptis stood. No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this Polybius, l. i. says, that the revenue that arose from this place was so considerable that all their hopes were almost founded on it, *ὅτι αὐτῶν τῶν ἐμφορίων* (viz. their revenues from Emporia) *εἰς οὗτὰς μέγιστον ἐλπίδας*. To this was owing their care and state-jealousy above mentioned, lest the Romans should sail beyond the Fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage; and become acquainted with a country which might induce them to attempt the conquest of it.

‡ Appian. de bell. Pun. p. 40.

§ *Ils furent tous passés sous le joug: Sub jugum missi; a kind of gallows (made*

for each. Gulussa, to satiate his vengeance for the ill treatment, which, as we before observed, he had met with, sent out against them a body of cavalry, whom, from their great weakness, they could neither escape nor resist. So that of 58,000 men, very few returned to Carthage.

The Third Punic War.

A. M. 3853. The third Punic war, which was less considerable
 A. Carth. 697. than either of the two former, with regard to the num-
 A. Rom. 599. ber and greatness of the battles, and its continuance,
 Ant. J. C. 149. which was only four years, was still more remarkable with respect to the success and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and destruction of Carthage.

The inhabitants of this city,* from their last defeat, knew what they had to fear from the Romans, who had uniformly displayed great ill-will towards them, as often as they had addressed them upon their disputes with Masinissa. To prevent the consequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of the senate, impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces,† as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war against the king of Numidia. They then sent a deputation to Rome, to inquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was desired of them. The deputies were coldly answered, that it was the business of the senate and people of Carthage to know what satisfaction was due to the Romans. A second deputation bringing them no clearer answer, they fell into the greatest dejection; and being seized with the strongest terrors, from the recollection of their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imagined to themselves all the dismal consequences of a long siege, and of a city taken sword in hand.

In the mean time,‡ the senate debated at Rome on the measures it would be proper for them to take; and the disputes between Cato the elder, and Scipio Nasica, who entertained totally different opinions on this subject, were renewed. The former, on his return from Africa, had declared, in the strongest terms, that he had found Carthage, not as the Romans supposed it to be, exhausted of men or money, or in a weak and humble state; but, on the contrary, that it was crowded with vigorous young men, abounded with immense quantities of gold and silver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all war-stores; and was so haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is farther said, that, after he had ended his speech, he threw, out of the lappet

by two forked sticks, standing upright) was erected, and a spear laid across, under which the vanquished enemies were obliged to pass. *Festus.*

* Appian, p. 41, 42.

† The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their respective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian *Bastagxor*.

‡ Plut. in *lit. Cat.* p. 359

of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs: and, as the senators admired their beauty, *Know*, says he, *that it is but three days since these figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the enemy and us.**

Cato and Nasica had each of them their reasons for voting as they did.† Nasica, observing that the people had risen to such a height of insolence as led them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them with a pride which the senate itself was not able to check; and that their power was become so enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every mad design they might undertake; Nasica, I say, observing this, was desirous that they should continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this might serve as a curb to restrain and check their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans; and at the same time too strong to be considered by them in a contemptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought that as his countrymen had become haughty and insolent by success, and plunged headlong into profligacy of every kind; nothing could be more dangerous, than for them to have for a rival and an enemy, a city that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident than ever; and not to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power; since they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities of indulging themselves in excesses of every kind.

To lay aside, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine which of these two great men reasoned most justly, according to the maxims of sound policy, and the true interests of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all the historians have observed that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage:‡ that vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by stealth, but appeared barefaced, and seized, with astonishing rapidity, upon all orders of the republic: that the senators, plebians, in a word, all conditions, abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness, without moderation or sense of decency, which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. *The first Scipio*, says Paterculus,§ speaking of the Romans, *had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. For, after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by dis-*

* Plin. l. xv. c. 12.

† Plut. ibid. in vitâ Cat.

‡ Ubi Carthago, æmula imperii Romani ab stirpe interit, fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cepit. *Sallust. in bell. Catilin.*

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se Remp. tractabant.—Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, licet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incensere. *Idem in bello Jugurthino*

§ Potentia Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthage nunc metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed precipiti cursu à virtute descendum, ad vitia transcursum. *Vol. Paters. l. ii. c. 1.*

puting empire with that city, had been totally destroyed; the depravity of manners was no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once into the utmost excess of corruption.

Be this as it may,* the senate resolved to declare war against the Carthaginians: and the reasons or pretences urged for it were, their having maintained ships contrary to the tenor of the treaty; their having sent an army out of their territories, against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they had treated ill, at the time that he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.

A. M. 3856. An event,† that chance occasioned to happen very
A. Rom. 600. fortunately, at the time that the senate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, doubtless contributed very much to make them take that resolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender up themselves, their effects, their lands, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, vastly rich, and had a port equally spacious and commodious; it stood within sixty furlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but formally proclaimed war. M. Manilius, and L. Marcus Censorinus, the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible. They had secret orders from the senate, not to end the war but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were 80,000 foot and about 4000 horse.

The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome.‡ The answer brought back by their deputies, had only increased their fears, viz. *It was the business of the Carthaginians to consider what satisfaction was due to them.*§ This made them not know what course to take. At last they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should see fitting; and even (what the former wars could never make them stoop to) to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clause, *se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was submitting themselves, without reserve, to the power of the Romans, and acknowledging themselves their vassals. Nevertheless, they did not expect any great success from this condescension, though so very mortifying; because, as the Uticans had been beforehand with them on that occasion, that circumstance had deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary submission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was set out. The Romans had despatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the senate; and to inform that city that the Roman fleet had sailed. The

* App. p. 42. — † Ibid. — ‡ Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972. § To the Romans

deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they possessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered, that since they had at last taken a right step, the Senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other possessions, whether public or private, provided that, within the space of thirty days, they should send as hostages, to Lilybæum, 300 young Carthaginians of the first distinction, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with inexpressible anxiety; but the concern they were under would not allow them to make the least reply, or to demand an explanation; nor indeed would it have been to any purpose. They therefore set out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embassy.

All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians;* but the silence of the Romans, with respect to the cities of which no notice was taken in the concessions which that people was willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. But all they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent losses which the Carthaginians had sustained, they were by no means in a condition to resist such an enemy, since they had not been able to oppose Masinissa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the rest.

They did not think it proper to wait till the thirty days, which had been allowed them, were expired, but immediately sent their hostages, in hopes of softening the enemy by the readiness of their obedience, though they dared not flatter themselves with the expectation of meeting with favour on this occasion. These hostages were the flower, and the only hopes of the noblest families of Carthage. Never was any spectacle more moving; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing seen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations. But above all, the disconsolate mothers, bathed in tears, tore their dishevelled hair, beat their breasts, and, as if grief and despair had distracted them, they yelled in such a manner as might have moved the most savage breasts to compassion. But the scene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their separation was come; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ship, they bid them a long last farewell, persuaded that they should never see them more: bathed them with their tears, embraced them with the utmost fondness; clasped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breasts. The hostages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the consuls told the deputies, that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

In such a situation of affairs,* nothing can be more grievous than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars, gives occasion to the mind to image to itself every misery. As soon as it was known that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp; signifying, that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive their commands, which they were ready to obey. The consul, after praising their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they consented to, but besought him to reflect on the sad condition to which he was reducing them, at a time when Asdrubal, whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause than their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, was advanced almost to their gates, with an army of 20,000 men. The answer returned them was, that the Romans would set that matter right.

This order was immediately put in execution.† There arrived in the camp, a long train of waggons, loaded with all the preparations of war, taken out of Carthage; 200,000 complete sets of armour, a numberless multitude of darts and javelins, with 2000 engines for shooting darts and stones.‡ Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the most venerable senators and priests, who came purposely to try to move the Romans to compassion in this critical moment, when their sentence was going to be pronounced, and their fate would be irreversible. Censorinus, the consul, for it was he who had all along spoken, rose up for a moment at their coming, and expressed some kindness and affection for them; but suddenly resuming a grave and severe countenance: *I cannot, says he, but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have resolved to destroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions which you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of eighty stadia from the sea.*

The instant the council pronounced this fulminating decree,|| nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable shrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunderstruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themselves in the dust, tearing their clothes, and unable to vent their grief any otherwise, than by broken sighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of suppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice towards a people, who would soon be reduced to the extremes of despair. But as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they soon changed them into reproaches and imprecations; bidding the Romans call to mind

* Polyb. p. 975. Appian. p. 45, 46.
§ Four leagues, or twelve miles.

† Appian. p. 46. ‡ Ballista or Catapult.
|| Appian. p. 46—53.

that there were such beings as avenging deities, whose severe eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far as to get the execution of this order suspended, till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, to attempt, if possible, to get it revoked. They were forced to set out immediately, and carry the answer to Carthage.

The people waited for their return with such an impatience and terror, as words could never express.* It was scarce possible for them to break through the crowd that flocked round them, to hear the answer which was but too strongly painted in their face. When they were come into the senate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general shriek informed the people of their fate; and, from that instant, nothing was seen and heard in every part of the city, but howling and despair, madness and fury.

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the course of the history for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is a great pity that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, should end exactly in the most interesting part of this narrative. I should set a much higher value on one short reflection of so judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian ascribes to the deputies and consul. I can never believe, that so rational, judicious, and just a man as Polybius could have approved the proceedings of the Romans on the present occasion. We do not here discover, in my opinion, any of the characteristics which distinguished them anciently; that the greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere said, formed no part of the Roman disposition: *Minime Romanus artibus*. Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty (a most solemn and sacred thing) that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberty and laws; and understand, at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word *city* in this treaty, the perfidious design of destroying Carthage? as if, beneath the cover of such an equivocation, they might destroy it with justice. In short, why did the Romans not make their last declaration till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hostages and arms; that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their most arbitrary commands? Is it not manifest, that Carthage, notwithstanding all its defeats and losses, though it was weakened and almost exhausted, was still a terror to the Romans, and that they were persuaded they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous to be possessed of so much power, as to be able

* Appian. p. 53, 54.

to commit injustice with impunity, and with a prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shows, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans,* differs widely from what was practised here. That people, says he, far from using artifice and deceit towards their allies, in order to enlarge their power, did not think themselves allowed to employ them even against their enemies, considering only those victories as solid and glorious, which were obtained sword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns, in the same place, that there then remained among the Romans but very faint traces of the ancient generosity of their ancestors; and he thinks it incumbent on him (as he declares) to make this remark, in opposition to a maxim which was grown very common in his time among persons in the administration of the government, who imagined, that sincerity is inconsistent with good policy; and that it is impossible to succeed in the administration of state affairs, either in war or peace, without using fraud and deceit on some occasions.

I now return to my subject. The consuls made no great haste to march against Carthage,† not suspecting they had anything to fear from that city, as it was now disarmed. The inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay to put themselves in a posture of defence, being all unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general without the walls, Asdrubal, who was at the head of 20,000 men, and to whom deputies were sent accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country's sake, the injustice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops, within the walls, was given to another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied themselves to the making arms with incredible expedition. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made 140 shields, 300 swords, 500 pikes or javelins, 2000 arrows, and a great number of engines to discharge them; and because they wanted materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly supplied their wants on this occasion.

Masinissa was very much disgusted at the Romans,‡ because, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their design, which circumstance caused some coldness between them.

During this interval,§ the consuls were advancing towards the city, in order to besiege it. As they expected nothing less than a vigorous resistance, the incredible resolution and courage of the be-

* Polyb. l. xiii. p. 671, 672.
 § 14. p. 55—53.

† Appian. p. 55. Strabo l. xvii. p. 833.

‡ Ap-

sieged filled them with the utmost astonishment. The Carthaginians were for ever making the boldest sallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines, and to harass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, served then as tribune in the army; and distinguished himself above the rest of the officers, no less by his prudence, than by his bravery. The consul under whom he fought, committed many oversights, by having refused to follow his advice. This young officer extricated the troops from several dangers into which the imprudence of their leaders had plunged them. A renowned officer, Phamæas by name, who was general of the enemy's cavalry, and continually harassed the foragers, did not dare ever to keep the field, when it was Scipio's turn to support them, so capable was he of keeping his troops in good order, and posting himself to advantage. So great and universal a reputation excited some envy against him at first; but as he behaved, in all respects, with the utmost modesty and reserve, that envy was soon changed into admiration; so that when the senate sent deputies to the camp, to inquire into the state of the siege, the whole army gave him unanimously the highest commendation; the soldiers, as well as officers, nay, the very generals, with one voice extolled the merit of young Scipio: so necessary is it for a man to deaden, if I may be allowed the expression, the splendour of his rising glory, by a sweet and modest carriage; and not to excite jealousy, by haughty and self-sufficient behaviour, as this naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itself odious.

A. M. 3857. About the same time Masinissa,* finding his end approaching, sent to desire a visit from Scipio, in order that he might invest him with full powers to dispose, as he should see proper, of his kingdom and property, in behalf of his children. But, on Scipio's arrival, he found that monarch dead. Masinissa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I shall give no farther account here of the family and prosperity of Masinissa, because that would interrupt too much the history of Carthage.

The high esteem which Phamæas had entertained for Scipio,† induced him to forsake the Carthaginians, and go over to the Romans. Accordingly, he joined them with above 2000 horse, and was afterwards of great service at the siege.

Calpurnius Piso‡ the consul, and L. Mancinus, his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were considerably increased; they daily got new

* Appian. p. 62.

† Ib. p. 65.

‡ Ib. p. 66.

allies; and even sent an express as far as Macedonia, to the counterfeit Philp,* who pretended to be the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans, to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promising to furnish him with money and ships.

This news occasioned some uneasiness at Rome.† The people began to doubt the success of a war, which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at first been imagined. As much as they were dissatisfied with the dilatoriness of the generals, and exclaimed against their conduct, so much did they unanimously agree in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He was come to Rome, in order to stand candidate for the edileship. The instant he appeared in the assembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, a general persuasion that he was designed by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the second; these several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people; and though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edileship which he sued for, the people, disregarding for once the laws, conferred the consulship upon him, and assigned him Africa for his province, without casting lots for the provinces, as usual, and as Drusus his colleague demanded.

As soon as Scipio had completed his recruits,‡ he set out for Sicily, and arrived soon after in Utica. He came very seasonably for Mancinus, Piso's lieutenant, who had rashly fixed himself in a post where he was surrounded by the enemy, and would have been cut to pieces that very morning, had not the new consul, who, on his arrival, heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops in the night, and sailed with the utmost speed to his assistance.

Scipio's first care,§ after his arrival, was to revive discipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the least regularity, subordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feasting, and diversions. He drove from the camp all useless persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers, and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for soldiers, studiously banishing all dainties and luxuries.

After he had made these regulations, which cost him but little time and pains, because he himself first set the example, he was persuaded that those under him were soldiers, and thereupon he prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, he led them in the dead of the night, and without the least noise, to a district of the city, called Megara; when, ordering them to give a sudden and general shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were at first in

* Andriacus.

† Appian. p. 68

‡ Appian. p. 69

§ Id. p. 73.

the utmost terror; however, they defended themselves so courageously, that Scipio could not scale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forsaken, and which stood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of intrepid and resolute soldiers, who, by the help of pontons,* got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, the gates of which they broke down. Scipio entered it immediately after, and drove the enemies out of that post; who, terrified at this unexpected assault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, whither they were followed by those forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it necessary for them to fly to a place of security.

Before I proceed farther,† it will be proper to give some account of the situation and dimensions of Carthage, which, in the beginning of the war against the Romans, contained 700,000 inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf, surrounded by the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck, that is, the isthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five stadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninsula was 360 stadia, or eighteen leagues round. On the west side there projected from it a long neck of land, half a stadium, or twelve fathoms, broad; which, advancing into the sea, divided it from a morass, and was fenced on all sides with rocks and a single wall. On the south side, towards the continent, where stood the citadel called Byrsa, the city was surrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, exclusive of the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being twenty-score fathoms. Every tower was four stories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls to hold 300 elephants with their fodder, and over these were stables for 4000 horses, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge 20,000 feet, and 4000 horse. All these were contained within the walls alone. In one place only the walls were weak and low; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours, which were on the west side. Of these there were two, which communicated with each other, but had only one entrance, seventy feet broad, shut up with chains. The first was appropriated for the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second, or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which stood an island called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large quays, in which were distinct receptacles‡ for sheltering from the weather 220 ships; over these were magazines or store-houses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars, of the Ionic order. So that both the harbour and the

* A sort of moveable bridge.

† Appian. p. 56, 57. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 538.

‡ *Nauvlioi*, Strabo.

island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. In this island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, though no one, from thence, could see what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men of war; the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate, that led to the city, without passing through the other harbour. So that Carthage may be divided into three parts :* the harbour, which was double, and called sometimes Cothon, from the little island of that name : the citadel, named Byrsa : the city properly so called, where the inhabitants dwelt which lay around the citadel, and was called Megara.

At day-break,† Asdrubal‡ perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and, at the same time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken upon the walls, in sight of the whole army. There he put them to the most exquisite torture; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noses, ears, and fingers; tearing their skin from their body with iron rakes or harrows, and then threw them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: however, he did not spare even them, but murdered many senators who had ventured to oppose his tyranny.

Scipio,§ finding himself absolute master of the isthmus, burnt the camp, which the enemy had deserted, and built a new one for his troops. It was of a square form, surrounded with large and deep intrenchments, and fenced with strong palisades. On the side which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower, he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the isthmus, that is, twenty-five stadia.¶ The enemy, who were within bow-shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to put a stop to this work; but as the whole army were employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work: First, his forces were lodged more safely and commodiously than before: Secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, to whom none could now be brought but by sea; which was attended with many difficulties, both because the sea is frequently very tempestuous in that place, and because the Roman fleet kept a strict guard. This proved one of the chief causes of the famine which raged soon after in the city. Besides, Asdrubal distributed the corn that was brought,

* Boch. in Phal. p. 512.

† Appian. p. 72.

‡ It was he who had first commanded without the city, but having caused the other Asdrubal, Maminia's grandson, to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the walls.

§ Appian. p. 73.

¶ Four miles and three quarters.

only among the 30,000 men who served under him, caring very little what became of the rest of the inhabitants.

To distress them still more by the want of provisions,* Scipio attempted to stop up the mouth of the haven by a mole, beginning at the above-mentioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. The besieged, at first, looked upon this attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly they insulted the workmen; but, at last, seeing them make an astonishing progress every day, they began to be afraid; and to take such measures as might, if possible, render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, to the women and children, fell to work, but so privately, that all that Scipio could learn from the prisoners, was, that they had heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not know the occasion of it. At last, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a sudden, a new outlet on the other side of the haven; and appeared at sea with a numerous fleet, which they had just then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they must infallibly have taken it; because, as no such attempt was expected, and every man was elsewhere employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, soldiers or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of insult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

Two days after,† they brought forward their ships, with a resolution to fight in good earnest, and found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. The conflict was long and obstinate, each exerting themselves to the utmost; the one to save their country, now reduced to the last extremity, and the other to complete their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and, when briskly attacked, retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. At last, after the two armies had fought with equal success till sun-set, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themselves overcome, but in order to begin the fight on the morrow. Part of their ships, not being able to run swiftly enough in the harbour, because the mouth of it was too narrow, took shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, on the side of which a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and lasted till late at night. The Carthaginians suffered very much, and the few ships which got off, sailed for refuge to the city. Morning being come, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it, though with great difficulty; after which he made a lodgment there, and fortified himself

* Appian. p. 74.

† Appian. p. 75.

on it, and built a brick wall close to those of the city, and of the same height. When it was finished, he commanded 4000 men to get on the top of it, and to discharge from it a perpetual shower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution; because, as the two walls were of equal height, almost every dart took effect. Thus ended this campaign.

During the winter-quarters,* Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much harassed the convoys that brought his provisions, and protected such as were sent to the besieged. For this purpose he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nopheris, where they used to shelter themselves. In the last action, above 70,000 of the enemy, as well soldiers as peasants, who had been enlisted, were cut to pieces; and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after sustaining a siege of two-and-twenty days. The seizure of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strong holds in Africa; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itself, into which, from that time, it was almost impossible to bring any provisions.

A. M. 3859. Early in the spring,† Scipio attacked, at one and the same time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel. A. Rom. 603. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it, from whence was an ascent to the citadel, up three streets, on each side of which were houses, from the tops whereof a shower of darts was discharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houses they came first to, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat which was carried on from the tops, and in every part of the houses, continued six days, during which a dreadful slaughter was made. To clear the streets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aside, with hooks, the bodies of such of the inhabitants as had been slain or precipitated headlong from the houses, and threw them into pits, the greatest part of them being still alive and panting. In this toil, which lasted six days and as many nights, the soldiers were relieved from time to time by fresh ones, without which they would have been quite spent. Scipio was the only person who did not take a wink of sleep all this time; giving orders in all places, and scarce allowing himself leisure to take the least refreshment.

There was every reason to believe,‡ that the siege would last much longer, and occasion a great effusion of blood. But on the seventh day, there appeared a company of men in the posture and habit of suppliants, who desired no other conditions, than that the Romans would please to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel: which request was granted them, only the deserters were excepted. Accordingly, there came out

* Appian. p. 72.

† Ibid. p. 73.

‡ Appian. p. 81.

50,000 men and women, who were sent into the fields under a strong guard. The deserters, who were about 900, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of *Æsculapius*, with *Asdrubal*, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but small, they might have held out a long time, because the temple stood on a very high hill, upon rocks, the ascent to which was by sixty steps. But at last, exhausted by hunger and watching, oppressed with fear, and seeing their destruction at hand, they lost all patience; and abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermost story, resolved not to quit it but with their lives.

In the meantime, *Asdrubal*, being desirous of saving his life, came down privately to *Scipio*, carrying an olive-branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. *Scipio* showed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage and fury at the sight, vented millions of imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. Whilst it was kindling, we are told that *Asdrubal's* wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself with her two children in sight of *Scipio*, addressed him with a loud voice: *I call not down, says she, curses upon thy head, O Roman; for thou only takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, according to his deserts, the false wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!* Then directing herself to *Asdrubal*—*Perfidious wretch, says she, thou basest of men! this fire will presently consume both me and my children; but as to thee, unworthy general of Carthage, go, adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror; suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the tortures thou so justly deservest.* She had no sooner pronounced these words, than seizing her children, she cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards rushed into them herself; in which she was imitated by all the deserters.

With regard to *Scipio*,* when he saw this famous city, which had been so flourishing for 700 years, and might have been compared to the greatest empires, on account of the extent of its dominions, both by sea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; while the Carthaginians were even superior to other nations by their courage and greatness of soul; as notwithstanding their being deprived of arms and ships, they had sustained, for three whole years, all the hardships and calamities of a long siege: seeing, I say, this city entirely ruined, historians relate, that he could not refuse his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no less than private men; that the like sad fate had befallen *Troy*, anciently so powerful; and, in later times, the *Assyrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, whose dominions were once of so great an extent; and very recently, the *Macedonians*, whose empire had been so glorious throughout the

* *Appian*. p. 82.

world. Full of these mournful ideas, he repeated the following verses of Homer :

"Ἔσονται ἡμεῖς, ὅταν ποτ' ἄλ' ἄλλ' Ἰλίοις ἰδῶ,
καὶ Πριάμοιο, καὶ λαὸς ὕμμευ καὶ Πριάμοιο II. 2. 164, 165.

The day shall come, that great avenging day.
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay ;
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's self shall fall,
And one prodigious ruin swallow all.—Pope.

Thereby denouncing the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who desired Scipio to explain himself on that occasion.

Had the truth enlightened his soul, he would have discovered what we are taught in the Scriptures, that *because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another.** Carthage is destroyed, because its avarice, perfidiousness, and cruelty, have attained their utmost height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious and delusive show of justice and virtue, shall have compelled the sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, to give the universe an important lesson in its fall. Carthage being taken in this manner,† Scipio gave the plunder of it (the gold, silver, statues, and other offerings which should be found in the temples, excepted) to his soldiers for some days. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly distinguished themselves, viz. Tib. Gracchus and Caius Fannius, who first scaled the walls. After this, adorning a small ship (an excellent sailer) with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome with the news of the victory.

At the same time he invited the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the pictures and statues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars.‡ When he restored to the citizens of Agrigentum, Phalaris's famous bull,§ he told them that this bull, which was, at one and the same time, a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings and of the lenity of their present sovereigns, ought to make them sensible which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded, on the most severe penalties, his family not to take or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

* Eccles. x. 8. † Appian. p. 83. ‡ Ibid.

§ Quem taurum Scipio cum redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur, equum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Siculis utilius, sulene servire, an populo R. obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticæ crudelitatis, et nostræ mansuetudinis haberent. *Cic. Ferr. vi. 2. 73.*

When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome,* the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as if the public tranquillity had not been secured till that instant. They revolved in their minds, all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for sixteen years together: during which, Hannibal had plundered 400 towns, destroyed in different engagements 300,000 men, and reduced Rome itself to the utmost extremity. Amidst the remembrance of these past evils, the people in Rome would ask one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men emulously strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards the gods; and the citizens were, for many days, employed only in solemn sacrifices, in public prayers, games, and spectacles.

After these religious duties were ended,† the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country for the time to come. The first care was, to demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage.‡ Rome,§ though mistress of almost the whole world, could not believe herself safe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being. So true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, lasts even beyond the time when all cause of fear is removed, and does not cease till the object that occasions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that it should never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any parts of it, especially those called Byrsa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who desired it, was admitted to see Carthage; Scipio being well pleased, to have people view the sad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire.¶ The commissioners decreed farther, that those cities which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should be all razed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a prætor was sent annually.

All matters being thus settled,‖ Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before, the whole exhibiting nothing but statues, rare invalua-

* Appian. p. 83.

† Appian. p. 84.

‡ We may guess at the dimensions of this famous city, by what Florus says, viz. that it was seventeen days on fire, before it could be consumed. *Quanta urbs deleta sit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mors probari potest; quippe per continuos decem et septem dies vix potuit incendium extinguere.* Lib. ii. c. 15.

§ Neque se Roma, jam terrarum orbe superato, securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortum ultra metum durat, et ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse desinit, quam esse desit. *Pel. Patere.* l. i. c. 12.

¶ Ut ipse locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, vestigia calamitatis ostenderet. *Cic. Agrar. li. ii. n. 30.*

‖ Appian. p. 84.

ble pictures, and other curiosities, which the Carthaginians had, for many years, been collecting in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treasury, which amounted to immense sums.

Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt,* in less than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's lifetime, one of the Graeci, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony consisting of 6000 citizens for that purpose. The senate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over scrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithstanding all these bad presages, and finished it in a few days. This was the first Roman colony that was ever sent out of Italy.

It is probable, that only a kind of huts were built there, since we are told,† that when Marius retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle; himself serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city.

Appian relates,‡ that Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, having crossed into Africa, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he writ down in his pocket-book the design which he formed, on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but having been murdered soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar, his adopted son, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the spot where it stood formerly, in order that the imprecations which had been vented, at the time of its destruction, against those who should presume to rebuild it, might not fall upon him.

I know not what foundation Appian has for this story; but we read in Strabo,§ that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by Cæsar, to whom he gives the name of god, by which title, a little before,|| he had plainly intended Julius Cæsar; and Plutarch,¶ in the life of that emperor, ascribes expressly to him the establishment of these two colonies; and observes, that one remarkable circumstance in these two cities is, that as both had been taken and destroyed at the same time, they likewise were at the same time rebuilt and repeopled. However this be, Strabo affirms, that in his time Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it rose to

* Id. p. 85. Plut. in vit. Græcch. p. 839.

† Marius cursum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit: cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alteri possent esse solatio. *Vol. Patere. l. ii. c. 19.*

‡ Appian. p. 85. § Strab. l. xvii. p. 833. || Strab. l. xvii. p. 831. ¶ Page 733.

be the capital of Africa, under the succeeding emperors. It existed for about 700 years after, in splendour, but at last was so completely destroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the seventh century, that neither its name, nor the least footsteps of it, are known at this time in the country.

A Digression on the Manners and Character of the second Scipio Africanus.

Scipio the destroyer of Carthage, was son to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus, the last king of Macedon; and consequently grandson to that Paulus Æmilius who lost his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the son of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being so united, pursuant to the law of adoptions. He supported,* with equal lustre, the dignity of both houses, by all the qualities, that can confer honour on the sword and gown. The whole tenor of his life, says an historian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts, or words, was deserving of the highest praise. He distinguished himself particularly (a eulogium that, at present, can seldom be applied to persons of the military profession,) by his exquisite taste for polite literature, and all the sciences, as well as by the uncommon regard he showed to learned men. It is universally known, that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the most polite and elegant writings which the Romans could boast. We are told of Scipio,† that no man could blend more happily repose and action, nor employ his leisure hours with greater delicacy and taste: thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exercised his body in toils of war, or his mind in the study of the sciences. By this he showed, that nothing does greater honour to a person of distinction, of what quality or profession soever he be, than the adorning his mind with knowledge. Cicero, speaking of Scipio, says,‡ that he always had Xenophon's works in his hands, which are so famous for the solid and excellent instructions they contain, both in regard to war and policy.

He owed this exquisite taste for polite learning and the sciences,§ to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius bestowed on his children. He had put them under the ablest masters in every art; and did not spare any expense on that occasion, though his circumstances were very narrow: P. Æmilius himself was present at all their

* Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus sæculi sui, qui nihil in vitâ nisi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit aut sensit. *Vet. Patroc.* l. i. c. 12.

† Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispanxit: semperque aut belli aut pacis servit artibus, semper inter arma ac studia versatus aut corpus periculis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit. *Ibid.* c. 13.

‡ Africanus semper Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat. *Tusc. Quest.* l. ii. n. 62.

§ Plut. in vit. Æmil. Paul. p. 258.

lessons, as often as the affairs of the state would permit: becoming, by this means, their chief preceptor.

The intimate union between Polybius and Scipio put the finishing stroke to the exalted qualities which, by the superiority of his genius and disposition, and the excellency of his education, were already the subject of admiration.* Polybius, with a great number of Achæans, whose fidelity the Romans suspected during the war with Perseus, was detained in Rome, where his merit soon caused his company to be coveted by all persons of the highest quality in that city. Scipio, when scarce eighteen, devoted himself entirely to Polybius; and considered as the greatest felicity of his life, the opportunity he had of being instructed by so great a master, whose society he preferred to all the vain and idle amusements which are generally so alluring to young persons.

Polybius's first care was to inspire Scipio with an aversion for those equally dangerous and ignominious pleasures, to which the Roman youth were so strongly addicted; the greatest part of them being already depraved and corrupted by the luxury and licentiousness which riches and new conquests had introduced in Rome. Scipio, during the first five years that he continued in so excellent a school, made the greatest improvement in it; and, despising the ridicule, as well as the pernicious examples, of persons of the same age with himself, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a model of discretion and wisdom.

From hence, the transition was easy and natural to generosity, to a noble disregard of riches, and to a laudable use of them; all virtues so requisite in persons of illustrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the most exalted pitch, as appears from some instances of this kind related by Polybius, which are highly worthy our admiration.

Æmilia,† wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great estate to the latter. This lady, besides the diamonds and jewels which are worn by women of her high rank, possessed a great number of gold and silver vessels used in sacrifices, together with several splendid equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes; the whole suited to the opulence of the august house into which she had married. At her death, Scipio made over all those rich possessions to Papiria his mother, who, having been divorced a considerable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumstances to support the dignity of her birth, lived in great obscurity, and never appeared in the assemblies or public ceremonies. But when she again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generosity of Scipio did him great honour, especially in the minds of the ladies, who expe-

* Excerpt. à Polyb. p. 147—163.

† She was sister of Paulus Æmilius, father of the second Scipio Africanus.

tiated on it in all their conversations, and in a city whose inhabitants, says Polybius, were not easily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no less admired on another occasion. He was bound, in consequence of the estate that had fallen to him by the death of his grandmother, to pay at three different times to the two daughters of Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, half their portions, which amounted to 50,000 French crowns.* The time for the payment of the first sum being expired, Scipio put the whole money into the hands of a banker. Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who had married the two sisters, imagining that Scipio had made a mistake, went to him and observed, that the laws allowed him three years to pay this sum in, and at three different times. Young Scipio answered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occasion; that they might indeed be executed in their greatest rigour towards strangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with a more generous simplicity; and therefore desired them to receive the whole sum. They were struck with such admiration at the generosity of their kinsman, that in their return home, they reproached themselves for their narrow way of thinking,† at a time when they made the greatest figure, and had the highest regard paid to them, of any family in Rome. This generous action, says Polybius, was the more admired, because no person in Rome, so far from consenting to pay 50,000 crowns before they were due, would pay even 1000 before the time for payment was elapsed.

It was from the same noble spirit that, two years after, Paulus Æmilius, his father, being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not so wealthy as himself, the part of their father's estate which was his (Scipio's) due (amounting to above 60,000 crowns,‡) in order that there might not be so great a disparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being desirous to exhibit a show of gladiators after his father's decease, in honour of his memory, (as was the custom in that age,) and not being able to defray the expenses on this occasion, which amounted to a very heavy sum, Scipio made him a present of 15,000 crowns,§ in order to defray at least half the charges of it.

The splendid presents which Scipio had made his mother Papira, reverted to him, by law as well as equity, after her demise; and his sisters, according to the custom of those times, had not the least claim to them. Nevertheless, Scipio thought it would have been dishonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his sisters whatever he had presented to their mother, which amounted to a very considerable sum; and by this fresh proof of his glorious disregard of wealth, and the tender friendship he had for his family, acquired the applause of the whole city.

* Or, 11,250*l.* sterling.
† Or, 13,500*l.* sterling.

‡ Κατεργασίας τῆς αὐτῆς μικρολογίας.
§ Or, 5,375*l.* sterling.

These different benefactions, which amounted altogether to a prodigious sum, seem to have received a brighter lustre from the age in which he bestowed them, he being still very young; and yet more from the circumstances of the time when they were presented, as well as the kind and obliging carriage he assumed on those occasions.

The incidents I have here related are so repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reason to fear the reader would consider them merely as the rhetorical flourishes of an historian who was prejudiced in favour of his hero; if it was not well known, that the predominant characteristic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a sincere love for truth, and an utter aversion to adulation of every kind. In the very passage whence this relation is extracted, he has thought it necessary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio; and he observes, that as his writings were to be perused by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he could not fail of being convicted by them, should he venture to advance any falsehood; an affront, to which it is not probable that an author, who has ever so little regard for his reputation, would expose himself, especially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already observed, that Scipio had never given in to the fashionable debaucheries and excesses to which the young people at Rome so generally abandoned themselves. But he was sufficiently compensated for this self-denial of all destructive pleasures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the rest of his life, which enabled him to taste pleasure of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected so much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his darling exercise, contributed also very much to invigorate his constitution, and enabled him also to endure the hardest toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging to the utmost of his desire his passion in this respect; for the chase, which was the usual diversion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aside for some years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, studious of procuring his son virtuous pleasures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from those which reason prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himself in his favourite sport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The illustrious youth employed his leisure hours in an exercise which suited so well his age and inclination; and was as successful in this innocent war against the beasts of Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on against the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon, that he met with Polybius in Rome; and contracted the strict friendship with him, which

was afterwards so beneficial to our young Roman; and did him almost as much honour in after-ages as all his conquests. We find, from history, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day, when himself and Scipio were alone, the latter unbosomed himself freely to him, and complained, but in the mildest and most gentle terms, that he, in their conversations at table, always directed himself to his brother Fabius, and never to him. *I am sensible, says he, that this indifference arises from your supposing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedless young man, and wholly averse to the taste which now prevails in Rome, because I do not devote myself to the studies of the bar, nor cultivate the graces of elocution. But how should I do this? I am told perpetually, that the Romans expect a general, and not an orator, from the house of the Scipios. I will confess to you, (pardon the sincerity with which I reveal my thoughts,) that your coldness and indifference grieve me exceedingly.* Polybius, surprised at this unexpected address, made Scipio the kindest answer; and assured the illustrious youth, that though he generally directed himself to his brother, yet this was not out of disrespect to him, but only because Fabius was the eldest; not to mention, (continued Polybius,) that, knowing that you possessed but one soul, I conceived that I addressed both when I spoke to either of you. He then assured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command; that with regard to the sciences, for which he discovered the happiest genius, he would have opportunities sufficient to improve himself in them, from the great number of learned Grecians who resorted daily to Rome; but that as to the art of war, which was properly his profession, and his favourite study, he (Polybius) might be of some little service to him. He had no sooner spoke these words, than Scipio, grasping his hand in a kind of rapture: *Oh! when, says he, shall I see the happy day, when, disengaged from all other avocations, and living with me, you will be so much my friend, as to direct your endeavours to improve my understanding and regulate my affections? It is then I shall think myself worthy of my illustrious ancestors.* From that time Polybius, overjoyed to see so young a man breathe such noble sentiments, devoted himself particularly to our Scipio, who ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

However, Scipio did not esteem Polybius only as an excellent historian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, as an able warrior and a profound politician. Accordingly, he consulted him on every occasion, and always took his advice, even when he was at the head of his army; concerting in private with Polybius all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterprises against the enemy, and the several measures proper for rendering them successful.

In a word,* it was the common report, that our illustrious Roman did not perform any great or good action without being under some

* Pausan. in Arcad. l. viii. p. 565.

obligation to Polybius; nor even commit an error, except when he acted without consulting him.

I request the reader to excuse this long digression, which may be thought foreign to my subject, as I am not writing the Roman history. However, it appeared to me so well adapted to the general design I propose to myself in this work, viz. the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not directly its proper place. And, indeed, these examples show how important it is that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education; and the great benefit they reap, by frequenting and corresponding early with persons of merit; for these were the foundations whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But above all, how noble a model for our age (in which the most inconsiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animosities between brothers and sisters, and disturb the peace of families) is the generous disinterestedness of Scipio; who, whenever he had an opportunity of serving his relations, thought lightly of bestowing the largest sums upon them! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to that book, where, treating of the taste for solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the ancients held riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I therefore thought myself indispensably obliged to restore, on this occasion, to young students, what I could not but blame myself for omitting elsewhere.

The History of the Family and Posterity of Masinissa.

I promised, after finishing what related to the republic of Carthage, to return to the family and posterity of Masinissa. This piece of history forms a considerable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my subject.

A. M. 3875. From the time that Masinissa had declared for the A. Rom. 601. Romans under the first Scipio,* he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almost unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconsul of Africa, under whose standards the younger Scipio then fought, to desire that Roman might be sent to him; adding, that he should die with satisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will. But believing that he should be dead before it could be possible for him to receive this consolation, he sent for his wife and children, and spoke to them as follows: *I know no other nation but the Romans, and, among this nation, no other family but that of the Scipios. I now, in my expiring moments, empower Scipio Æmilianus to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all my possessions, and to divide my kingdom among my children. I require, that whatever Scipio may decree, shall be executed as punctually as if*

* App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

I myself had appointed it by my will. After saying these words, he breathed his last, being upwards of ninety years of age.

This prince,* during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, having been dispossessed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thousand times in danger of his life. Being supported, says the historian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured, till his death, with a perpetual series of prosperity, unruffled by any sinister accident; for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy; and extending his dominions from Mauritania, as far as Cyrene, he became the most powerful prince of all Africa. He was blessed, till he left the world, with the greatest health and vigour, which doubtless was owing to his extreme temperance, and the care he had taken to inure himself to fatigue. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men,† and always rode without a saddle; and Polybius observes (a circumstance preserved by Plutarch,‡) that the day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Masinissa was seen, sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

He left fifty-four sons,§ of whom three only were legitimate, viz. Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between these three, and gave considerable possessions to the rest; but the two last dying soon after, Micipsa became sole possessor of these extensive dominions. He had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and with them he educated in his palace Jugurtha his nephew, Mastanabal's son, and took as much care of him as he did of his own children. This last-mentioned prince possessed several eminent qualities,|| which gained him universal esteem. Jugurtha, who was finely shaped and very handsome, of the most delicate wit and the most solid judgment, did not devote himself, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure. He used to exercise himself with persons of his own age, in running, riding, and throwing the javelin; and though he surpassed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chase was his only delight; but it was that of lions and other savage beasts. To finish his character, he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself: *Plurimum facere, et minimum ipse de se loqui.*

Merit so conspicuous, and so generally acknowledged, began to excite some anxiety in Micipsa. He saw himself in the decline of life, and his children very young. He knew the prodigious lengths which

* App. p. 65.

† Cicero introduces Cato speaking as follows of Masinissa's vigorous constitution: *Arbitror te audire, Scipio, hospes tuus Masinissa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus; cum ingreſsus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum equo, an equo non descendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite aperto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem. Itaque cæqui omnia regis officia et munera.* De Senectute.

‡ An seni gerenda sit Resp. p. 791.

§ Appian. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

|| All this history of Jugurtha is extracted from Sallust.

ambition is capable of going, when a crown is in view ;* and that a man, with talents much inferior to those of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by so glittering a temptation, especially when united with such favourable circumstances. In order therefore to remove a competitor so dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he sent to the assistance of the Romans, who at that time were besieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the most heroic bravery, he flattered himself, that he probably would rush upon danger, and lose his life. However, he was mistaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage the utmost presence of mind ; and, a circumstance very rarely found in persons of his age, he preserved a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness.† In this campaign, he won the esteem and friendship of the whole army. Scipio sent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the most advantageous testimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to the course which he ought to pursue : for, knowing mankind so well, he in all probability had discovered certain sparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared would one day break out into a flame.

Micipsa, pleased with the high character that was sent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and resolved, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. Accordingly he adopted him ; and by his will, made him joint heir with his two sons. When he found his end approaching, he sent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in presence of the whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind of all his kindness to him ; conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect, on all occasions, his children ; who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now become his brethern, by his (Micipsa's) bounty. He told him,‡ that neither arms nor treasure constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms nor gold, but by real services and inviolable fidelity. Now where (says he) can we find better friends than our brothers ? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend on, strangers ? He exhorted his sons to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha ; and to dispute no otherwise with him, than by their endeavour to equal, and, if possible, to surpass, his exalted merit. He concluded with entreating them to observe for ever an inviolable attachment towards the Romans ; and to consider them as their benefactor, their patron, and master. A few days after this, Micipsa expired.

* *Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem ; præterea opportunitas suæ liberorumque etatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transversos agit. Sallust.*

† *Ac sanè, quod difficillimum imprimis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio ; quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.*

‡ *Non exercitus, neque thesauri, præsidia regni sunt, verùm amici : quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas ; officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior quàm frater fratris ? aut quam alienum scdm invenies, si tuus hostis fueris.*

A. M. 3857. Jugurtha soon threw off the mask, and began by
 - A. Rom. 631. ridding himself of Hiempsal, who had expressed himself
 to him with great freedom, and therefore he caused him to be mur-
 A. M. 3858. dered. This bloody action proved but too evidently
 - A. Rom. 632. to Adherbal what he himself might naturally fear. Nu-
 midia is now divided, and sides severally with the two brothers.
 Mighty armies are raised by each party. Adherbal, after losing the
 greatest part of his fortresses, is vanquished in battle, and forced to
 make Rome his asylum. However, this gave Jugurtha no very great
 uneasiness, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city.
 He therefore sent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the
 chief senators. In the first audience to which they were introduced,
 Adherbal represented the unhappy condition to which he was re-
 duced, the injustice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his
 brother, the loss of almost all his fortresses; but the circumstance on
 which he laid the greatest stress was, the commands of his dying
 father, viz. to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring,
 that the friendship of this people would be a stronger support both
 to himself and his kingdom, than all the troops and treasures in the
 universe. His speech was of a great length, and extremely pa-
 thetic. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following answer: That
 Hiempsal had been killed by the Numidians, because of his great
 cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggressor, and yet, after having
 been vanquished was come to make complaints, because he had not
 committed all the excesses he desired; that their sovereign entreated
 the senate to form a judgment of his behaviour and conduct in Africa,
 from that he had shown at Numantia; and to lay a greater stress on
 his actions, than on the accusations of his enemies. But these am-
 bassadors had secretly employed an eloquence much more preva-
 lent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The
 whole assembly was for Jugurtha, a few senators excepted, who
 were not so void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The
 senate came to this resolution, That commissioners should be sent
 from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the spot between
 the two brothers. The reader will naturally suppose, that Jugurtha
 was not sparing of his treasure on this occasion: the division was
 made to his advantage; and yet a specious appearance of equity was
 preserved.

This first success of Jugurtha augmented his courage, and increas-
 ed his boldness. Accordingly, he attacked his brother by open force;
 and whilst the latter loses his time in sending deputations to the Ro-
 mans, he storms several fortresses; carries on his conquests; and,
 after defeating Adherbal, besieges him in Cirtha, the capital of his
 kingdom. During this interval, ambassadors arrived from Rome,
 with orders, in the name of the senate and people, to the two kings,
 to lay down their arms, and cease all hostilities. Jugurtha, after
 protesting that he would obey, with the most profound reverence
 and submission, the commands of the Roman people, added, that he

did not believe it was their intention to hinder him from defending his own life, against the treacherous snares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with saying, that he would send ambassadors forthwith to Rome, to inform the senate of his conduct. By this vague answer he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait upon Adherbal.

Though the latter was so closely blocked up in his capital, he yet found means to send to Rome,* to implore the assistance of the Romans against his brother, who had besieged him five months, and intended to take away his life. Some senators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately against Jugurtha; but still his influence prevailed, and the Romans only ordered an embassy to be sent, composed of senators of the highest distinction, among whom was *Æmilius Scaurus*, a factious man, who had a great ascendant over the nobility, and concealed the blackest vices under the specious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at first; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly sent them back without coming to any conclusion. Upon this, Adherbal, who had lost all hopes, surrendered upon condition of having his life spared; nevertheless, he was immediately murdered with a great number of Numidians.

But though the greatest part of the people at Rome were struck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the senate. However, C. Memmius, the tribune of the people, an active man, and one who hated the nobility, prevailed with the people, not to suffer so horrid a crime to go unpunished; and, accordingly, war being proclaimed against Jugurtha, Calpurnius Bestia the consul was appointed to carry it on. He was endued

A. M. 3894. with excellent qualities,† but they were all depraved
A. Rom. 638. and rendered useless by his avarice. Scaurus set out
Ant. J. C. 110. with him. They at first took several towns; but Ju-

gurtha's bribes checked the progress of these conquests; and Scaurus himself,‡ who till now had expressed the strongest animosity against this prince, could not resist so powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to submit to the Romans, and thirty elephants, some horses, with a very inconsiderable sum of money, were delivered to the questor.

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius the tribune inflamed them by his speeches. He caused Cassius, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha, and to engage him to come to Rome,

(11. * He chose two of the nimblest of those who had followed him into Cirtha; and these, induced by the great rewards he promised them, and pitying his unhappy circumstances, undertook to pass through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring shore, and from thence to Rome. *Ex his qui undè Cirtham profugerant, duos maxime impigres deligit: eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium stationes noctu and per æmum mare, dein Romam pergerent.* Sallust.

† Multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat.

‡ Magnitudine pecunie à bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est.

under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an inquiry might be made in his presence, who those persons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly, Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The sight of him raised the anger of the people still higher; but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the session, and at last dissolved it. A Numidian prince, grandson of Masinissa, called Massiva, being at that time in the city, was advised to solicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which, coming to the ears of the latter, he caused him to be assassinated in the midst of Rome. The murderer was siezed, and delivered up to the civil magistrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart Italy. Upon leaving the city, he cast back his eyes several times towards it, and said, *Rome would sell itself, could it meet with a purchaser; and were one to be found, it were inevitably ruined.**

And now the war broke out anew. At first the indolence, or perhaps connivance, of Albinus the consul, made it go on very slowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the public assemblies,† the Roman army, by the unskilfulness of his brother Aulus, having marched into a defile, from whence there was no getting out, surrendered ignominiously to the enemy, who forced the Romans to submit to the ceremony of passing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally imagine in what light so shameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was considered at Rome. They could not flatter themselves with the hope of being successful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the consul. To all the rest of the virtues which constitute the great captain,‡ he added a perfect disregard of wealth; a quality most essentially requisite against such an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money than his sword. But the African monarch found Metellus as invincible in this, as in all other respects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmost bravery, through the defect of an expedient which now began to fail him. Accordingly, he signalized himself in a surprising manner; and showed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention, of an illustrious general, to whom despair adds new vigour, and suggests new lights: he was, however, unsuccessful, because opposed by a consul who did not suffer the most inconsiderable error to escape him, nor ever let slip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greatest concern was, how to secure himself from traitors. From the time he had been told that Bomilcar, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, had a design upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himself safe any where; but all things,

* *Postquam Romæ aggressus est, fertur sæpe tacitus eò respiciens, postremò dixisse: Urbem venalem et maturè perituram, si emptorem invenerit.*

† For electing magistrates. *Sal.*

‡ In Numidiam proficiscitur, magnâ spe civium cum propter artes bonas, tum maxime quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat.

by day as well as by night, the citizen as well as the foreigner, were suspected by him; and the blackest terrors sat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got a wink of sleep, except by stealth; and often changed his bed in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting sometimes from his slumbers, he would snatch his sword, and utter loud cries; so strongly was he haunted by fear, which almost drove him to frenzy.

Marius was Metellus's lieutenant. His boundless ambition induced him to endeavour to lessen his general's character secretly in the minds of his soldiers; and becoming soon his professed enemy and slanderer, he at last, by the most grovelling and perfidious arts, prevailed so far as to supplant Metellus, and get himself nominated in his room, to carry on the war against Jugurtha. With what strength of mind soever Metellus might be endowed on other occasions, he was totally dejected by this unforeseen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and compelled him to utter such expressions as were altogether unworthy so great a man.* There was something very dark and vile in Marius's conduct, that displays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and shows that it extinguishes, in those who abandon themselves to it, all sense of honour and integrity. Metellus having anxiously endeavoured to avoid a man whose sight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with universal acclamations. A triumph A. M. 398. was decreed him, and the surname of Numidicus conferred upon him. A. Rom. 442.

I thought it would be proper to reserve for the Roman history, a particular account of the events that happened in Africa, under Metellus and Marius, all of which are very circumstantially described by Sallust, in his admirable history of Jugurtha. I therefore hasten to the conclusion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly distressed in his affairs, had recourse to Bocchus, king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the shores of the Mediterranean opposite to Spain.† The Roman name was scarce known in it, and the people were absolutely unknown to the Romans. Jugurtha insinuated to his father-in-law, that should he suffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtless be involved in its ruin; especially as the Romans, who were sworn enemies to monarchy, seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. He therefore prevailed with Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occasions, very considerable succours from that king.

This confederacy, which was cemented on either side by no other tie than that of interest, had never been strong; and a last defeat which Jugurtha met with, broke at once all the bands of it. Boc-

* Quibus rebus supra bonum atque honestum percussus, neque lacrymas tenera, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis mollior agilitudinem pati
† Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.

chus now meditated the dark design of delivering up his son-in-law to the Romans. For this purpose he had desired Marius to send him a trusty person. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and served under him as questor, was thought every way qualified for this negotiation. He was not afraid to put himself into the hands of the barbarian king; and accordingly set out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus, who, like the rest of his countrymen, did not pride himself on sincerity, and was for ever projecting new designs, debated within himself, whether it would not be his interest to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating in this uncertainty, and conflicting with a contrariety of sentiments: and the sudden changes which displayed themselves in his countenance, in his air, and in his whole person, showed evidently how strongly his mind was affected. At length, returning to his first design, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was sent immediately to Marius.

Sylla,* says Plutarch,† acted, on this occasion, like a young man fired with a strong thirst of glory, the sweets of which he had just begun to taste. Instead of ascribing to the general under whom he fought all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim, he reserved the greater part of it to himself, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was represented receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he used ever after as his signet. But Marius was so highly exasperated at this kind of insult, that he could never forgive him; and this circumstance gave rise to the implacable hatred between these two Romans, which afterwards broke out with so much fury, and cost the republic so much blood.

A. M. 2901.

A. Rom. 645.

Ant. J. C. 103.

Marius entered Rome in triumph,‡ exhibiting such a spectacle to the Romans, as they could scarce believe they saw, when it passed before their eyes; I mean Jugurtha in chains: that so formidable an enemy, during whose life they had not dared to flatter themselves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war; so well was his courage sustained by stratagem and artifice, and his genius so fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were most desperate. We are told that Jugurtha ran distracted, as he was walking in the triumph; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into prison; and that the lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition he was cast, quite naked, and in the utmost terror, into a deep dungeon, where he spent six days in struggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a strong desire of life to his last gasp; an end, continues Plu-

‡ Plut. in vit. Maril.

† Οἷα τις φιλότιμος ἀπὲρ δόξης γυγωμένος, οὐκ ἔργῳ μετρίῳ τὸ αὐτὸ χρέμα. Plut. Præcep. reip. gerend. p. 806.

‡ Plut. ibid

tarch, worthy of his wicked deeds, Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greatest crimes might be committed to satiate his ambition; ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

Juba, king of Mauritania, reflected so much honour on polite literature and sciences, that I could not, without impropriety, omit him in the history of the family of Masinissa, to whom his father, who also was named Juba, was great-grandson, and grandson of Gulussa. The elder Juba signalized himself in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter. He

A. M. 3959. slew himself after the battle of Thapsus, in which his
A. Rom. 703. forces and those of Scipio were entirely defeated. Juba, his son, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from history, that a noble education was bestowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge as afterwards equalled him to the most learned among the Grecians. He did not leave that city till he went to take possession of his father's dominions.

A. M. 3974. Augustus restored them to him, when, by the death of
A. Rom. 719. Mark Antony, the provinces of the empire were absolutely at his disposal. Juba, by the lenity of his government, gained the hearts of all his subjects: who, out of a grateful sense of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pausanias speaks of a statue which the Athenians erected in his honour. It was indeed just, that a city, which had been consecrated in all ages to the Muses, should give public testimonies of its esteem for a king who made so bright a figure among the learned. Suidas ascribes several works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant.* He had written the history of Arabia; the antiquities of Assyria, and those of the Romans; the history of theatres, of painting and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, of grammar, and similar subjects; a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's short dissertation on the life and works of the younger Juba,† whence I have extracted these few particulars.

* In voce *Ἰούδας*.

† Vol. iv. of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, p. 457

BOOK III.

THE HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST EMPIRE OF THE ASSYRIANS.

SECT. I. DURATION OF THAT EMPIRE.

THE Assyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the most powerful in the world. With respect to its duration, two opinions have chiefly prevailed. Some authors, as Ctesias, whose opinion is followed by Justin, gave it a duration of 1300 years: others reduce it to 520, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or probably the interruption of power, which happened in this vast empire might possibly give occasion to this difference of opinions, and may perhaps serve in some measure to reconcile them.

The history of those early times is so obscure, the monuments which convey it down to us so contrary to each other, and the systems of the moderns upon that matter so different,* that it is difficult to lay down any opinion about it, as certain and incontestible. But where certainty is not to be had, I suppose a reasonable person will be satisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Assyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now we learn from the Holy Scripture, that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and in all probability the first and most ancient of all those who have ever aspired after that denomination.

The Babylonians,† as Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Aristotle, reckoned themselves at least to be 1903

* They that are curious to make deeper researches into this matter, may read the dissertations of Abbé Banier and M. Freret upon the Assyrian empire, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*; for the first, see Tome 3, and for the other, Tome 5: as also what Father Tournemine has written upon this subject in his edition of *Menochius*.

† Porphyry. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de cœlo.

years' standing when that Prince entered triumphant into Babylon ; which makes their origin reach back to the year of the world 1771, that is to say, 115 years after the deluge. This computation comes within a few years of the time in which we suppose Nimrod to have founded that city. Indeed, this testimony of Callisthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that matter, is not esteemed authentic by the learned ; but the conformity we find between it and the Holy Scriptures should make us regard it. Upon these grounds, I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the first Assyrian empire, which subsisted with more or less extent and glory upwards of 1450 years,* from the time of Nimrod to that of Sardanapalus, the last king, that is to say, from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.

A. M. 1800. NIMROD. He is the same with Belus,† who was afterwards worshipped as a god under that appellation.

He was the son of Chus, grandson of Ham, and great-grandson of Noah. He was, says the Scripture, *a mighty hunter before the Lord.*‡ In applying himself to this laborious and dangerous exercise, he had two things in view ; the first was, to gain the people's affection by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beasts ; the next was, to train up numbers of young people, by this exercise of hunting, to endure labour and hardship, to form them to the use of arms, to inure them to a kind of discipline and obedience, that at a proper time, after they had been accustomed to his orders and seasoned in arms, he might make use of them for other purposes more serious than hunting.

In ancient history we find some footsteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus, his son : for Diodorus has these words :§ *Ninus, the most ancient of the Assyrian kings mentioned in history, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike disposition, and ambitious of the glory that results from valour, he armed a considerable number of young men, that were brave and vigorous like himself ; trained them up a long time in laborious exercises and hardships, and by that means accustomed them to bear the fatigues of war patiently, and to face dangers with courage and intrepidity.*

What the same author adds,|| that Ninus entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is a piece of ancient tradition, which informs us, that the sons of Chus, and by consequence the brothers of Nimrod, all settled themselves in Arabia, along the Persian gulf, from Havilah to the Ocean ; and lived near enough to their brother to lend him succours, or to receive them from him. And what the same historian farther says of Ninus, that

* Here I depart from the opinion of Archbishop Usher, my ordinary guide, with respect to the duration of the Assyrian empire, which he supposes, with Herodotus, to have lasted but 520 years ; but the time when Nimrod lived, and Sardanapalus died, I take from him.

† Belus or Baal signifies Lord.

‡ Gen. x. 9.

§ Lib. ii. p. 90.

|| Ibid.

he was the first king of the Assyrians, agrees exactly with what the Scripture says of Nimrod, *that he began to be mighty upon the earth*; that is, he procured himself settlements, built cities, subdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the same authority, by the band of the same polity and the same laws, and formed them into one state; which, for these early times, was of a considerable extent, though bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which, in succeeding ages, made new acquisitions by degrees, and at length extended its conquests very far.

*The capital city of his kingdom, says the Scripture, was Babylon.** Most of the profane historians ascribe the founding of Babylon to Semiramis,† others to Belus. It is evident, that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founder of that city; for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis nor to Nimrod, but to the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in Scripture,‡ who desired to build a tower and a city, that should render their memory immortal.

Josephus relates,§ upon the testimony of a Sibyl, (who must have been very ancient, and whose fictions cannot be imputed to the indiscreet zeal of any Christians,) that the gods threw down the tower by an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane. Had this been the case, Nimrod's temerity must have been still greater, to rebuild a city and a tower which God himself had overthrown with such marks of his displeasure. But the Scripture says no such thing; and it is very probable, the building remained in the condition it was, when God put an end to the work by the confusion of languages; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which is described by Herodotus,|| was this very tower, which the sons of men pretended to raise to the clouds.

It is farther probable, that this ridiculous design having been defeated by such an astonishing prodigy, as none could be the author of but God himself, every body abandoned the place, which had given Him offence; and that Nimrod was the first who encompassed it afterwards with walls, settled therein his friends and confederates, and subdued those that lived round about it, beginning his empire in that place, but not confining it to so narrow a compass: *Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon.* The other cities which the Scripture speaks of in the same place, were in the land of Shinar, which was certainly the province of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Assyria, and there built Nineveh; *De terrâ illâ egressus est Assur, et ædificavit Nineveh.*¶ This is the sense in which many learned men understand the word Assur, looking upon it as the name of a province, and not of the first man who possessed it; as if it were, *egres-*

* Gen. x. 10.

† Semiramis eam condiderat, vel, ut plerique tradidere, Belus, cujus regia ostenditur. Q. Curt. lib. v. c. 1.

‡ Gen. xi 4

§ Hist. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

|| Lib. i. c. 181.

¶ Gen. x. 11.

ous est in Assur, in Assyriam. And this seems to be the most natural construction, for many reasons not necessary to be recited in this place. The country of Assyria is described, in one of the prophets,* by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: *Et pascent terram Assur in gladio, et terram Nimrod in lanceis ejus; et liberabit ab Assur, cum venerit in terram nostram.* It derived its name from Assur, the son of Shem, who without doubt had settled himself and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under subjection, by the usurper Nimrod.

The conqueror having possessed himself of the provinces of Assur,† did not ravage them like a tyrant, but filled them with cities, and made himself as much beloved by his new subjects, as he was by his old ones; so that the historians,‡ who have not examined into the bottom of this affair, have thought that he made use of the Assyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities, he built one more large and magnificent than the rest, which he called Nineveh, from the name of his son Ninus, in order to immortalize his memory. The son, in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had served him as their king should adore him as their god, and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears evident, that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who showed others the way to that sort of immortality which human acquirements are supposed capable of bestowing.

I intend to speak of the mighty strength and greatness of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, under the kings to whom their building is ascribed by profane authors, because the Scripture says little or nothing on that subject. This silence of Scripture, so little satisfactory to our curiosity, may become an instructive lesson to our piety. The holy penman has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and seems to have put them so near together on purpose, that we should see an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men, and in the latter of what is acceptable and well-pleasing to God. These two persons, so unlike one another, are the first two and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives, and with different principles;§ the one self-love, and a desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the Deity; the other, the love of God, even to the contemning of one's self.

NINUS. I have already observed, that most of the profane authors look upon him as the first founder of the Assyrian empire, and for that reason ascribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

* Mic. v. 6.

† Gen. x. 11, 12.

‡ Diod. l. ii. p. 98.

§ *Fecerunt civitates duas amores duo: terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei; celestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui.* S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xiv. c. 98

Having a design to enlarge his conquests,* the first thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his designs. And having received powerful succours from the Arabians his neighbours, he took the field, and in the space of seventeen years conquered a vast extent of country, from Egypt as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack.

At his return, before he entered upon any new conquests, he conceived the design of immortalizing his name by the building of a city answerable to the greatness of his power; he called it Nineveh, and built it on the eastern banks of the Tigris.† Possibly he did no more than finish the work his father had begun. His design, says Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largest and noblest city in the world, and to put it out of the power of those that came after him ever to build or hope to build such another. Nor was he deceived in his view; for never did any city come up to the greatness and magnificence of this: it was 150 stadia (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety stadia (or eleven miles and one quarter) in breadth: and consequently was an oblong square. Its circumference was 480 stadia, or sixty miles. For this reason we find it said in the prophet Jonah, *That Nineveh was an exceeding great city, of three days' journey*;‡ which is to be understood of the whole, circuit or compass of the city.§ The walls of it were 100 feet high, and of so considerable a thickness, that three chariots might go abreast upon them with ease. They were fortified and adorned with 1500 towers 200 feet high.

After he had finished this prodigious work, he resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. His army, according to the relation of Ctesias, consisted of 1,700,000 foot, 200,000 horse, and about 18,000 chariots armed with scythes. Diodorus adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, since, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the city of Syracuse alone, in the time of Dionysius the Tyrant, furnished 120,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, besides 400 vessels well equipped and provided. And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to send into the field near 1,000,000 of men. Ninus made himself master of a great number of cities, and at last laid siege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have seen all his attempts miscarry, had it not been for the diligence and assistance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and peculiarly exempt from the weakness of her sex. She was born at Ascalon, a city of Syria. I think it needless to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nursed and brought up by pigeons, since that histo-

* Diod. l. ii. p. 90—95.

† Diodorus says it was on the banks of the Euphrates, and speaks of it as if it was so, in many places; but he is mistaken.

‡ Jon. iii. 3.

§ It is hard to believe that Diodorus does not speak of the extent of Nineveh with some exaggeration; therefore some learned men have reduced the stadium to little more than one half, and reckon fifteen of them to the Roman mile instead of eight, the usual computation.

rian himself looks upon it only as a fabulous story. It was Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and thus became master of the city, in which he found immense treasure. The husband of Semiramis having killed himself, to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent passion for his wife, Ninus married her.

After his return to Nineveh, he had a son by her, whom he called Ninyas. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom. She, in honour of his memory, erected a magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Nineveh.

I find no appearance of truth in what some authors relate concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne.* According to them, having secured the chief men of the state, and attached them to her interests by her benefactions and promises, she solicited the king with great importunity to put the sovereign power into her hands for the space of five days. He yielded to her entreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. These orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death, either immediately, or after some years' imprisonment.

SEMIRAMIS. This princess applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name,† and to cover the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her enterprises. She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence, and to that end she undertook the building of the mighty Babylon,‡ in which work she employed 2,000,000 of men, which were collected out of all the provinces of her vast empire. Some of her successors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embellishments. I shall here speak of them altogether, in order to give the reader a more clear and distinct idea of that stupendous city.

The principal works which rendered Babylon so famous, are the walls of the city; the quays and the bridge; the lake, banks, and canals, made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of such a surprising magnificence, as is scarce to be comprehended. Dr. Prideaux having treated this subject with great extent and learning, I have only to copy, or rather abridge, him.

I. *The Walls.*

Babylon stood on a large plain,§ in a very fat and rich soil. The walls were every way prodigious. They were in thickness eighty-seven feet, in height 350, and in compass 480 furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. These walls were drawn round the city in the

* Plut. in Mor. p. 753.

† Diod. l. ii. p. 95.

‡ We are not to wonder, if we find the founding of a city ascribed to different persons. It is common even among the profane writers, to say, Such a prince built such a city, whether he was the person that first founded it, or that only embellished or enlarged it.

§ Herod. l. i. c. 178. 180. Diod. l. ii. p. 95, 96. Q. Curt. l. v. c. i.

form of an exact square, each side of which was 120 furlongs,* or fifteen miles, in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth of that country, which binds much stronger and firmer than mortar, and soon grows much harder than the bricks or stones themselves which it cements together.

These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch, full of water, and lined with bricks on both sides. The earth that was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore, from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch.

In every side of this great square were twenty five gates, that is, 100 in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promises to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him,† *that he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass.* Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side: every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates in each side of this great square went twenty-five streets, in strait lines to the gates, which were directly over-against them, in the opposite side; so that the whole number of the streets was fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty-five went one way, and twenty-five the other, directly crossing each other at right angles. And besides these, there were also four hair streets, which had houses only on one side, and the wall on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them 200 feet broad; the rest were about 150. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was cut out into 676 squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. Round these squares,‡ on every side towards the street, stood the houses (which were not contiguous, but had void spaces between them,) all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was likewise all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, near one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.

II. The Quays and Bridge.

A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite across the city,§ from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a quay,

* I relate things as I find them in the ancient authors, which Dean Prideaux has also done; but I cannot help believing that great abatements are to be made in what they say as to the immense extent of Babylon and Nineveh.

† Isa. xlv. 2.

‡ Quat. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

§ Herod. l. i. c. 180. 185. Diod. l. ii. p. 96.

and a high wall, built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that went round the city. In these walls, over against every street that led to the river, were gates of brass, and from them descents by steps to the river, for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the building of the bridge. The brazen gates were always open in the day-time, and shut in the night.

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings, either in beauty or magnificence; it was a furlong in length,* and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. The arches were made of huge stones, fastened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they began to build the bridge, they turned the course of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in so doing, besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as I shall explain hereafter. And as every thing was prepared beforehand, both the bridge and the quays, which I have already described, were built in that interval.

III. *The Lakes, Ditches, and Canals, made for the draining of the River.*

These works, objects of admiration for the skilful in all ages, were still more useful than magnificent. In the beginning of the summer,† on the sun's melting the snow on the mountains of Armenia, there arises a vast increase of waters, which, running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July, and August, makes it overflow its banks, and occasion such another inundation as the Nile does in Egypt. To prevent the damage which both the city and country received from these inundations,‡ at a very considerable distance above the town, two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of these waters into the Tigris, before they reached Babylon. And to secure the country yet more from danger of inundations,§ and to keep the river within its channel, they raised prodigious banks on both sides of the river, built with brick cemented with bitumen, which began at the head of the artificial canals, and extended below the city.

To facilitate the making of these works, it was necessary to turn the course of the river; for which purpose, to the west of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake, forty miles square,|| 160 in compass, and thirty-five feet deep, according to Herodotus, and seventy-five, according to Megasthenes. Into this lake was the whole river

* Diodorus says, this bridge was five furlongs in length, which can hardly be true, since the Euphrates was but one furlong broad. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

† Strab. l. xvi. p. 740. Plin. l. v. c. 26. ‡ Abyd. ap. Eus. Præp. Evang. lib. ix.

§ Abyd. ib. Herod. l. i. c. 185.

|| The author follows Herodotus, who makes it 490 furlongs, or 53 miles square; but I choose to follow Dean Prideaux, who prefers the account of Megasthenes.

turned, by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till the whole work was finished, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates, in the time of the increase, might not overflow the city, through the gates on its sides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of these overflows was kept there all the year, as in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices, at convenient times, for the watering of the lands below it. The lake, therefore, was equally useful in defending the country from inundations, and making it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon as they are delivered down to us by the ancients; but there are some of them which are scarce to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the vast extent of the lake which I have just described.

Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, make Nebuchadnezzar the author of most of these works; but Herodotus ascribes the bridge, the two quays of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might finish what her father left imperfect at his death, on which account that historian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

IV. *The Palaces and Hanging Gardens.*

At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces,* which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river, at the time of its being dry. The old palace, which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs (or three miles and three quarters) in compass; near which stood the temple of Belus, of which we shall soon speak. The new palace, which stood on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs (or seven miles and a half) in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, with considerable spaces between them. These walls, as also those of the other palace, were embellished with an infinite variety of sculptures, representing all kinds of animals, to the life. Amongst the rest was a curious hunting-piece, in which Semiramis, on horseback, was throwing her javelin at a leopard, and her husband Ninus piercing a lion.

In this last palace,† were the hanging gardens, so celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of 400 feet on every side, and were carried up in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches, raised upon other arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall, surrounding it on every side, of twenty-two feet in thickness. On the

* Diod. l. ii. p. 96, 97.

† Ibid. p. 98, 99. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long, and four broad: over these was a layer of reeds, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaster. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away through the arches. The earth laid hereon was so deep, that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with such the terraces were covered, as well as with other plants and flowers that were proper to adorn a pleasure-garden. In the upper terrace there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which this whole structure rested, were large and magnificent apartments, that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful prospect.

Amytis,* the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media, (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country,) had been much delighted with the mountains and woody parts of that country. And as she desired to have something like it in Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify her, caused this prodigious edifice to be erected. Diodorus gives much the same account of the matter, but without naming the persons.

V. *The Temple of Belus.*

Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus,† which stood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace. It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower, that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compass, and (according to Strabo) it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, built one above the other, decreasing regularly to the top, for which reason Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. It is not only asserted, but proved, that this tower much exceeded the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reason to believe, as Bochart asserts,‡ that this is the very same tower which was built there at the confusion of languages: and the rather, because it is attested by several profane authors, that this tower was all built of bricks and bitumen, as the Scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. The ascent to the top was by stairs on the outside round it; that is, perhaps, there was an easy sloping ascent in the side of the outer wall, which turning by very slow degrees in a spiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the same appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In these different stories were many large rooms, with arched roofs supported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of

* Beros. ap. Jos. cont. App. l. i. c. 6.
Strab. l. xxi. p. 738.

† Herod. l. i. c. 181. Diod. l. ii. p. 98.
‡ Phal. part. l. i. c. 2.

the tower, was an observatory, by the benefit of which the Babylonians became more expert in astronomy than all other nations, and made, in a short time, the great progress in it ascribed to them in history.

But the chief use to which this tower was designed, was the worship of the god Belus or Baal, as also that of several other deities; for which reason there was a multitude of chapels in different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in statues, tables, censers, cups, and other sacred vessels, all of massy gold, were immense. Among other images, there was one forty feet high, which weighed 1000 Babylonish talents. The Babylonish talent, according to Polux in his *Onomasticon*, contained 7000 Attic drachmas, and consequently was a sixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but 6000 drachmas.

According to the calculation which Diodorus makes of the riches contained in this temple, the sum total amounts to 6300 Babylonish talents of gold.

The sixth part of 6300 is 1050; consequently, 6300 Babylonish talents of gold are equivalent to 7350 Attic talents of gold.

Now 7350 Attic talents of silver are worth upwards of 2,100,000*l.* sterling. The proportion between gold and silver among the ancients we reckon as ten to one; therefore 7350 Attic talents of gold amount to above 21,000,000*l.* sterling.

This temple stood till the time of Xerxes;* but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished it entirely, after having first plundered it of all its immense riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purposed to have rebuilt it; and in order thereto, set 10,000 men to work to rid the place of its rubbish; but, after they had laboured therein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.

Such were the chief works which rendered Babylon so famous; the greater part of them are ascribed by profane authors to Semiramis, to whose history it is now time to return.

When she had finished all these great undertakings,† she thought fit to make a progress through the several parts of her empire; and wherever she came, left monuments of her magnificence by many noble structures which she erected, either for the conveniency or ornament of her cities; she was particularly careful to have water brought by aqueducts to such places as wanted it, and to make the highways easy, by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were still monuments to be seen in many places, with her name inscribed upon them.

The authority this queen had over her people seems very extraordinary,‡ since we find her presence alone capable of appeasing a sedition. One day, as she was dressing herself, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon she went out immediately,

* Herod. l. i. c. 183. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738. Arrian. l. vii. p. 489.
p. 100—108.

† Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 3.

‡ Diod. l. ii.

with her head half dressed, and did not return till the disturbance was entirely appeased. A statue was erected in remembrance of this action, representing her in that very attitude and undress, which had but hindered her from flying to her duty.

Not satisfied with the vast extent of dominions left her by her husband, she enlarged them by the conquest of a great part of Ethiopia. Whilst she was in that country, she had the curiosity to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to inquire of the oracle how long she had to live. According to Diodorus, the answer she received was, that she should not die till her son Ninyas conspired against her, and that after her death one part of Asia would pay her divine honours.

Her greatest and last expedition was against India. On this occasion she raised an innumerable army out of all the provinces of her empire, and appointed Bactra for the rendezvous. As the strength of the Indians consisted chiefly in their great number of elephants, she caused a multitude of camels to be accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. It is said that Perseus long after used the same stratagem against the Romans; but neither of them succeeded in this artifice. The Indian king having notice of her approach, sent ambassadors to ask her who she was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, she came, out of wantonness, to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldness should soon meet with the punishment it deserved. *Tell your master,* replied the queen, *that in a little time I myself will let him know who I am.* She advanced immediately towards the river,* from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a sufficient number of boats, she attempted to pass it with her army. Their passage was a long time disputed, but after a bloody battle she put her enemies to flight. Above 1000 of their boats were sunk, and above 100,000 of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this success, she advanced directly into the country, leaving 60,000 men behind to guard the bridge of boats which she had built over the river. This was just what the king desired, who fled on purpose to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. As soon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a second engagement ensued, more bloody than the first. The counterfeit elephants could not long sustain the shock of the real ones: these routed her army, crushing whatever came in their way. Semiramis did all that lay in her power to rally and encourage her troops, but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her, and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The swiftness of her horse soon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crowded to the bridge to repass the river, great numbers of them perished, through the disorder and confusion unavoidable on such occasions. When those that could save themselves were safely over, she destroyed the bridge, and by that means stopped the enemy;

and the king likewise, in obedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to pass the river, nor pursue Semiramis any farther. The queen, having made an exchange of prisoners at Bactra, returned to her own dominions with scarce one-third of her army, which (according to Ctesias) consisted of 3,000,000 foot and 500,000 horse, besides the camels and chariots armed for war, of which she had a very considerable number. I have no doubt that this account is highly exaggerated, or that there is some mistake in the numeral characters. She, and Alexander after her, were the only persons that ever ventured to carry the war beyond the river Indus.

I must own I am somewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raised against the extraordinary things related of Nimus and Semiramis, as they do not seem to agree with the times so near the deluge: I mean, such vast armies, such a numerous cavalry, so many chariots armed with scythes, and such immense treasures of gold and silver; all which seem to be of a later date. The same thing may likewise be said of the magnificence of the buildings ascribed to them. It is probable the Greek historians, who came so many ages afterwards, deceived by the similarity of names, by their ignorance in chronology, and the resemblance of one event with another, may have ascribed such things to more ancient princes, as belonged to those of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterprises to one, which ought to be divided amongst a series of them, succeeding one another.

Semiramis, some time after her return, discovered that her son was plotting against her, and one of her principal officers had offered him his assistance. She then called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon: and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any punishment on the officer, who was taken into custody, she voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her son, and withdrew from the sight of men, hoping speedily to have divine honours paid to her, according to the promise of the oracle. And indeed, we are told, she was worshipped by the Assyrians, under the form of a dove. She lived sixty-two years, of which she reigned forty-two.

There are in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*,* two learned dissertations upon the Assyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.

What Justin† says of Semiramis, namely, that after her husband's decease, not daring either to commit the government to her son, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herself, she governed under the name and habit of Ninyas; and that, after having reigned in that manner above forty years, falling passionately in love with her own son, she endeavoured to induce him to comply with her criminal desires, and was slain by him: all this, I say, is so void of all appearance of truth, that to go about to confute it would be but

* Vol. III. p. 312, &c.

† Lib. I. c. 2

losing time. It must however be owned, that almost all the authors, who have spoken of Semiramis, give us but a disadvantageous idea of her chastity.

I do not know but that the glorious reign of this queen might partly induce Plato* to maintain, in his Commonwealth, that women as well as men ought to be admitted into the management of public affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of states, and, by necessary consequence, ought to be trained up in the same exercises as men, as well for the forming of the body as the mind. Nor does he so much as except those exercises, wherein it was customary to fight stark naked, alleging,† that the virtue of the sex would be a sufficient covering for them.

It is just matter of surprise to find a philosopher so judicious in other respects, openly combating the most common and most natural maxims of modesty and decency, virtues which are the principal ornament of the female sex, and insisting so strongly upon a principle, sufficiently confuted by the constant practice of all ages, and of almost all nations in the world.

Aristotle,‡ wiser in this than his master Plato, without doing the least injustice to the real merit and essential qualities of the sex, has with great judgment marked out the different ends to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind, wherewith they are endowed by the Author of Nature, who has given the one strength of body and intrepidity of mind, to enable him to undergo the greatest hardships, and face the most imminent dangers: whilst the other, on the contrary, is of a weak and delicate constitution, accompanied with a natural softness and modest timidity, which render her more fit for a sedentary life, and dispose her to keep within the precincts of the house, and employ herself in the concerns of prudent and domestic economy.

Xenophon is of the same opinion with Aristotle;§ and, in order to set off the occupation of the wife, who confines herself within her house, agreeably compares her to the mother-bee, commonly called the queen-bee, who alone governs, and has the superintendence of, the whole hive, who distributes all their employments, encourages their industry, presides over the building of their little cells, takes care of the nourishment and subsistence of her numerous family, regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpose, and at fixed and proper seasons sends abroad the new swarms in colonies, to ease and disburden the hive of its superfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Aristotle, the difference of constitution and inclinations, designedly made by the Author of Nature between man and woman, to point to each of them their proper and peculiar offices and functions.

This allotment, far from degrading or lessening the woman, is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of

* Lib. v. de Rep. p. 451—457.

† De cura rei fam. l. i. c. 3.

‡ *Ἐν τῇ αἰσθητικῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰσχυρῇ ἀποφύγετα.*

§ De administ. dom. p. 839.

domestic empire and government, administered only by gentleness, reason, equity, and good nature; and in giving her frequent occasions of concealing the most valuable and excellent qualities under the inestimable veil of modesty and submission. For it must ingenuously be owned, that at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women, who by a real solid merit have distinguished themselves above their sex; as there have been innumerable instances of men, who by their defects have dishonoured theirs. But these are only particular cases, which form no rule, and which ought not to prevail against an establishment founded in nature, and prescribed by the Creator himself.

NINYAS.* This prince was in no respect like those from whom he received his birth, and to whose throne he succeeded. Wholly intent upon his pleasures, he kept himself shut up in his palace, and seldom shewed himself to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Nineveh a certain number of regular troops, furnished every year from the several provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were succeeded by the like number of other troops on the same conditions; the king putting a commander at the head of them, on whose fidelity he could depend. He made use of this method, that the officers might not have time to gain the affections of the soldiers, and so form any conspiracies against him.

His successors, for thirty generations, followed his example, and even surpassed him in indolence. Their history is absolutely unknown, there remaining no footsteps of it.

A. M. 3093. In Abraham's time the Scripture speaks of Amraphel, king of Shinar, the country where Babylon was situated, who with two other princes followed Chedorlaomer, king of the Elamites, whose tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter against five kings of the land of Canaan.

A. M. 2513. \ It was under the government of these inactive princes, **Ant. J. C. 1491.** that Sesostris, king of Egypt, extended his conquests so far in the East. But as his power was of a short duration, and not supported by his successors, the Assyrian empire soon returned to its former state.

A. M. 2330. Plato,† a curious observer of antiquities, makes the **Ant. J. C. 1184.** kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priam, dependant on the Assyrian empire. And Ctesias says, that Tentamus, the twentieth king after Ninyas, sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, at a time when the Assyrian empire had subsisted above 1000 years; which agrees exactly with the time wherein I have placed the foundation of that empire. But the silence of Homer concerning so mighty a people, and one which must needs have been well known, renders this fact exceeding doubtful. And it must be owned, that whatever relates to the times of the ancient history of

* Diod. l. ii. p. 108

† De Leg. l. iii. 685.

the Assyrians, is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter.

A. M. 3233.

PUL.* The Scripture informs us that Pul, king of Assyria, being come into the land of Israel, had 1000 talents of silver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him assistance, and secure him on his throne.

This Pul is supposed to be the king of Nineveh who repented, with all his people, at the preaching of Jonah.

He is also thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, called, according to the custom of the eastern nations, Sardanpul; that is to say, Sardan, the son of Pul.

SARDANAPALUS.† This prince surpassed all his predecessors in effeminacy, luxury, and cowardice. He never went out of his palace, but spent all his time among a company of women, dressed and painted like them, and employed like them at the distaff. He placed all his happiness and glory in the possession of immense treasures, in feasting and rioting, and indulging himself in all the most infamous and criminal pleasures. He ordered two verses to be put upon his tomb, which imported, that he carried away with him all that he had eaten, and all the pleasures he had enjoyed, but left all the rest behind him.

*Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exsaturata libida
Hauit: at illa jacent multa et præclara relicta.‡*

An epitaph, says Aristotle, fit for a hog.

Arbaces, governor of Media, having found means to get into the palace, and having with his own eyes seen Sardanapalus in the midst of his infamous seraglio; enraged at such a spectacle, and not able to endure that so many brave men should be subject to a prince more soft and effeminate than the women themselves, immediately formed a conspiracy against him. Belesis, governor of Babylon, and several others, entered into it. On the first rumour of this revolt, the king hid himself in the inmost part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with some forces which he had assembled, he at first gained three successive victories over the enemy, but was afterwards overcome, and pursued to the gates of Nineveh; wherein he shut himself, in hopes the rebels would never be able to take a city so well fortified, and stored with provisions for a considerable time: the siege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declared by an ancient oracle, that Nineveh could never be taken, unless the river became an enemy to the city. These words

* 2 Kings, xv. 19.
l. c. 3.

† Diod. l. ii. p. 109—115. Athen. l. xii. p. 599, 530. Just. l.

‡ *Κῆν' ἔχο ὄσ' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα, καὶ μεν' ἔσθ' ὅς
Τίγην' ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλβία πάντα λίλειπται.*

Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bovis, non in regis sepulchro, inscriberes? Hæc habere se mortuum dicit, quæ ne vivus quidem diutius habebat, quàm fruebatur. Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. v. n. 101.

booyed up Sardanapalus, because he looked upon the thing as impossible. But when he saw that the Tigris, by a violent inundation, A. M. 3257. had thrown down twenty stadia* of the city wall, and Ant. J. C. 747. by that means opened a passage to the enemy, he understood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himself lost. He resolved, however, to die in such a manner, as, according to his opinion, should cover the infamy of his scandalous and effeminate life. He ordered a pile of wood to be made in his palace, and setting fire to it, burnt himself, his eunuchs, his women, and his treasures. Athenæus makes these treasures amount to a thousand myriads of talents of gold,† and ten times as many talents of silver, which, without reckoning any thing else, is a sum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains 10,000; and one single myriad of talents of silver is worth 30,000,000 of French money, or about £1,400,000 sterling. A man is lost, if he attempts to sum up the whole value; which induces me to believe, that Athenæus must have very much exaggerated in his computation; however, we may be assured, from his account, that the treasures were immensely great.

Plutarch,‡ in his second treatise, dedicated to the praise of Alexander the Great, wherein he examines in what the true greatness of princes consists, after having shown that it can arise from nothing but their own personal merit, confirms it by two very different examples, taken from the history of the Assyrians, in which we are now engaged.—Semiramis and Sardanapalus (says he) both governed the same kingdom; both had the same people, the same extent of country, the same revenues, the same forces and number of troops, but they had not the same dispositions, nor the same views. Semiramis, raising herself above her sex, built magnificent cities, equipped fleets, armed legions, subdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Asia, spreading consternation and terror every where. Whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounced his sex, spent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually surrounded with a company of women, whose dress and even manners he had adopted, applying himself with them to the spindle and the distaff, neither understanding nor doing any other thing than spinning, eating and drinking, and wallowing in all manner of infamous pleasure. Accordingly, a statue was erected to him, after his death, which represented him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription upon it, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in these words: *Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing else is nothing*:§ an inscription very suitable to the epitaph he himself had ordered to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch in this place judges of Semiramis, as almost all the profane historians do of the glory of conquerors. But if we would make

* Two miles and a half. † About £1,400,000,000 sterling.

‡ Pag. 335, 336.

§ *Ἔσθι, πίνε, ἀφροdisιαζε τ' ἀλλὰ δὲ οὐδέν.*

a true judgment of things, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much less blameable than the dissolute effeminacy of Sardanapalus? Which of the two vices did most mischief to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Assyrian empire should fall under such a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having passed through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all states, even to the greatest, during the course of several ages. This empire had subsisted above 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vast empire were formed three considerable kingdoms: that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conspiracy, restored to its liberty; that of the Assyrians of Babylon, which was given to Belesis, governor of that city; and that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, the first king whereof took the name of Ninus the younger.

In order to understand the history of the second Assyrian empire which is very obscure, and of which little is said by historians, it is proper, and even absolutely necessary, to compare what is said of it by profane authors with what we are informed concerning it by Holy Scripture: that by the help of that double light we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Nineveh and Babylon, which for some time were separate and distinct, and afterwards united and confounded together. I shall first treat of this second Assyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.



CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, BOTH OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON:

THIS second Assyrian empire continued 210 years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become absolute master of the East by the death of his father Cambyzes, and his father-in-law Cyaxares, published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a seventy years' captivity at Babylon.

Kings of Babylon.

A. M. 3257. BELESIS.* He is the same as Nabonassar, from Ant. J. C. 747. whose reign began the famous astronomical epocha at Babylon, called from his name the *Æra of Nabonassar*. In the Holy Scriptures he is called Baladan. He reigned but twelve years, and was succeeded by his son

MERODACH-BALADAN.† This is the prince who sent ambassadors to king Hezekiah, to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we shall speak hereafter. After him there reigned several

other kings of Babylon,* with whose story we are entirely unacquainted. I shall therefore proceed to the kings of Nineveh.

Kings of Nineveh.

A. M. 3257. TIGLATH-PILESER. This is the name given by the Ant. J. C. 747. Holy Scriptures to the king who is supposed to be the first that reigned at Nineveh, after the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire. He is called Thilgamus by Ælian.† He is said to have taken the name of Ninus the younger, in order to honour and distinguish his reign by the name of so ancient and illustrious a prince.

Ahaz,‡ king of Judah, whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaimed, either by the divine favours or chastisements, finding himself attacked at the same time by the kings of Syria and Israel, robbed the temple of part of its gold and silver, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, to purchase his assistance; promising him besides to become his vassal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Assyria finding so favourable an opportunity of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily accepted the proposal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damascus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Isaiah and Amos.† From thence he marched against Pekah, and took all that belonged to the kingdom of Israel beyond Jordan, as well as all Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection, still exacting of him such exorbitant sums of money, that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but to take all the gold and silver of the temple. Thus this alliance served only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Nineveh; who afterwards became so many instruments in the hand of God for the chastisement of his people.

A. M. 3376. SHALMANESER.|| Sabsatus, the Ethiopian, whom the Ant. J. C. 728. Scripture calls So, having made himself master of Egypt, Hoshea, king of Samaria, entered into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to shake off the Assyrian yoke. To this end he withdrew from his dependance upon Shalmaneser, refusing to pay him any farther tribute, or make him the usual presents.

Shalmaneser, to punish him for his presumption, marched against him with a powerful army; and after having subdued all the plain country, shut him up in Samaria, where he kept him closely besieged for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hoshea with chains, and threw him into prison for the rest of his days; carried away the people captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes, destroyed, as God had often threatened by his pro-

* Cœn. Ptol. † Lib. xii. hist. anim. c. 21. Castor apud Euseb. Chron. p. 49.
‡ 2 Kings, xvi. 7 &c § Is. viii. 4. Am. i. 5. || 2 Kings, xvii.

phets. This kingdom, from the time of its separation from that of Judah, lasted about 250 years.

It was at this time that Tobit,* with Anna his wife, and his son Tobias, was carried captive into Assyria, where he became one of the principal officers of king Shalmaneser.

Shalmaneser died, after having reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son

A. M. 3237. SENNACHERIB.† He is also called Sargon, in Scrip-
 Ant. J. C. 717. ture.

As soon as this prince was settled on the throne, he renewed the demand of the tribute exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refusal, he declared war against him, and entered into Judea with a mighty army. Hezekiah, grieved to see his kingdom pillaged, sent ambassadors to him, to desire peace upon any terms he would prescribe. Sennacherib, seemingly mollified, entered into treaty with him, and demanded a very great sum of gold and silver. The holy king exhausted both the treasures of the temple, and his own coffers, to pay it. The Assyrian, regarding neither the sanction of oaths nor treaties, still continued the war, and pushed on his conquests more vigorously than ever. Nothing was able to withstand his power, and of all the strong places of Judah, none remained untaken but Jerusalem, which was likewise reduced to the utmost extremity. At this very juncture Sennacherib was informed,‡ that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had joined his forces with those of the king of Egypt, was coming up to succour the besieged city. Now it was contrary to the express command of God, as well as the remonstrances of Isaiah and Hezekiah, that the chief men at Jerusalem had required any foreign assistance. The Assyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having written a letter to Hezekiah, full of blasphemy against the God of Israel, whom he insolently boasted he would speedily vanquish, as he had done all the gods of the other nations round about him. In short, he discomfited the Egyptians, and pursued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and returned laden with spoil.

It was probably during Sennacherib's absence,§ which was pretty long, or at least some little time before, that Hezekiah fell sick, and was cured in a miraculous manner; and that (as a sign of God's fulfilling the promise he had made him of curing him so perfectly, that within three days he should be able to go to the temple) the shadow of the sun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being informed of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah, sent ambassadors to him, with letters and presents, to congratulate him upon that occasion, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle that had happened in the land at this juncture, with respect to the sun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely sensible of the honour done him by that

* Tob. c. 1. † Is. xl. 1. 2 Kings, xviii. xix
 2 Chron. xxxii. 24-31.

‡ 2 Kings, xix. 9.

§ 2 Kings, xx.

prince, and very forward to show his ambassadors the riches and treasures he possessed, and to let them see the whole magnificence of his palace. Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable; but in the eyes of the Supreme Judge, which are infinitely more piercing and delicate than ours, this action discovered a lurking pride, and secret vanity, with which his righteousness was offended. Accordingly, he instantly informed the king, by his prophet Isaiah, that the riches and treasures which he had been showing to those ambassadors with so much ostentation, should one day be transported to Babylon; and that his children should be carried thither, to become servants in the palace of that monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are speaking of, was then in friendship and alliance with Jerusalem, as appears by her having sent ambassadors thither; nor did Jerusalem then seem to have any thing to fear, but from Nineveh; whose power was at that time formidable, and who had entirely declared against her. But the fortune of those two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accomplished.

But to return to Sennacherib. After he had ravaged Egypt, and taken a vast number of prisoners,* he came back with his victorious army, encamped before Jerusalem, and besieged it anew. The city seemed to be inevitably lost: it was without resource, and without hope from the hands of men; but had a powerful protector in Heaven, whose jealous ears had heard the impious blasphemies uttered by the king of Nineveh against his sacred name. In one single night, 185,000 men of his army perished by the sword of the destroying angel. After so terrible a blow, this pretended king of kings, (for so he called himself,) this triumpher over nations, and conqueror even of gods, was obliged to return to his own country with the miserable remnant of his army, covered with shame and confusion; nor did he survive his defeat more than a few months, only to make a kind of open confession of his crime to God, whose supreme majesty he had presumed to insult, and who now, to use the Scripture terms, having *put a ring into his nose, and a bridle into his mouth*, as a wild beast, made him return in that humbled, afflicted condition, through those very countries, which a little before had beheld him so haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Nineveh, being enraged at his disgrace, he treated his subjects in the most cruel and tyrannical manner. The effects of his fury fell more heavily upon the Jews and Israelites,† of whom he caused great numbers to be massacred every day, ordering their bodies to be left exposed in the streets, and suffering no man to give them burial. Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himself for some time, and suffer all his effects to be confiscated. In short, the king's savage temper rendered him so insupportable to his own family, that his two eldest sons conspired

* 2 Kings. xix. 35—37

† Tobit, i. 18—21.

against him, and killed him in the temple,* in the presence of his god Nisroch, as he lay prostrate before him. But these two princes being obliged, after this parricide, to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Esarhaddon, the youngest brother.

A. M. 3294. ESARHADDON.† We have already observed, that Ant. J. C. 710. after Merodach-Baladan, there was a succession of kings at Babylon, of whom history has transmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an eight years' interregnum, full of troubles and commotions. Esarhaddon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himself master of Babylon, and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years.

After having re-united to the Assyrian empire Syria and Palestine, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign, he entered the land of Israel, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Assyria, except an inconsiderable number that escaped his pursuit. But that the country might not become a desert, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. The prediction of Isaiah was then fulfilled; *within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people.*‡ This was exactly the space of time which elapsed between the prediction and the event: and the people of Israel did then truly cease to be a visible nation, what was left of them being altogether mixed and confounded with other nations.

This prince, having possessed himself of the land of Israel,§ sent some of his generals with part of his army into Judea, to reduce that country likewise under his subjection. These generals defeated Manasseh, and having taken him prisoner, brought him to Esarhaddon, who put him in chains, and carried him with him to Babylon. But Manasseh, having afterwards appeased the wrath of God by a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem.

Meantime the colonies,|| that had been sent into Samaria, in the room of its ancient inhabitants, were grievously infested with lions. The king of Babylon being told that the cause of this calamity was their not worshipping the God of the country, ordered an Israelitish drier to be sent to them, from among the captives brought from that country, to teach them the worship of the God of Israel. But these idolaters did no more than admit the true God amongst their ancient divinities, and worshipped him jointly with their false deities. This corrupt worship continued afterwards, and was the primary source of the aversion entertained by the Jews against the Samaritans.

Esarhaddon, after a prosperous reign of thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was succeeded by his son.

* 2 Kings, xix. 37.

† 2 Kings xvii. 34—41.

‡ Can. Ptol.

§ Is. vii. 8.

|| 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. 12.

A. M. 3335. **SAOSDUCHINUS.** This prince is called in Scripture **Ant. J. C. 669.** Nabuchodonosor, which name was common to the kings of Babylon. To distinguish this from the others, he is called Nabuchodonosor the First.

Tobit was still alive at this time,* and dwelt among other captives at Nineveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold to his children the sudden destruction of that city; of which at that time there was not the least appearance. He advised them to quit the city, before its ruin came on, and to depart as soon as they had buried him and his wife.

The ruin of Nineveh is at hand, says the good old man; abide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. These last words are very remarkable, *the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction.* Men will be apt to impute the ruin of Nineveh to any other reason; but we are taught by the Holy Ghost, that her unrighteousness was the true cause of it, as it will be with other states that imitate her crimes.

Nabuchodonosor defeated the king of the Medes,† in a pitched battle, fought the twelfth year of his reign, upon the plain of Ragau, took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom, and returned triumphant to Nineveh. When we come to treat of the history of the Medes, we shall give a more particular account of this victory.

It was immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was besieged by Holofernes, one of Nabuchodonosor's generals; and that the famous enterprise of Judith was accomplished.

A. M. 3356. **SARACUS,**‡ otherwise called **CHYNALADANUS.** This **Ant. J. C. 648.** prince succeeded Saosduchinus; and having rendered himself contemptible to his subjects, by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolassar, a Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, usurped that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned over it one-and-twenty years.

A. M. 3378. **NABOPOLASSAR.** This prince, the better to maintain **Ant. J. C. 626.** his usurped sovereignty, made an alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. With their joint forces they besieged and took Nineveh, killed Saracus, and utterly destroyed that great city. We shall speak more largely of this great event, when we come to the history of the Medes. From this time forwards, the city of Babylon became the only capital of the Assyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having destroyed Nineveh, became so formidable that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Necho, king of Egypt, was so alarmed at their power, that to stop their progress he marched towards the Euphrates at the head of a powerful army, and made several considerable conquests. See the history of the Egyptians for what relates to this expedition, and the consequences that attended it.‡

* Tobit. xiv. 4-15.

† Judith, i. 5, 6. 13-15.

‡ Alex. Polyhist.

§ Vol. i

Nabopolassar finding,* that after the taking of Carchemish by Necho, all Syria and Palestine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in person to recover them, he made his son Nabuchodonosor partner with him in the empire, and sent him with an army to reduce those countries to their former subjection.

A. M. 3398. From this time the Jews began to reckon the years Ant. J. C. 608. of Nabuchodonosor, viz. from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, or rather from the beginning of the fourth. But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.

NABUCHODONOSOR II.† This prince defeated Necho's army, near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemish. From thence he marched towards Syria and Palestine, and reunited those provinces to his dominions.

He likewise entered Judea,‡ besieged Jerusalem, and took it: he caused Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a design to have him carried to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance and affliction, he restored him to the throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the rest, some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither all the treasures of the king's palace, and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple, were likewise transported. Thus was the judgment which God had denounced by the prophet Isaiah to king Hezekiah accomplished. From this famous epocha, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but twelve years old,§ was carried captive among the rest; and Ezekiel sometime afterwards.

Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, died Nabopolassar, king of Babylon,|| after having reigned one-and-twenty years. As soon as Nabuchodonosor had news of his death, he set out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the nearest way through the desert, attended only with a small retinue, leaving the bulk of his army with his generals, to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and spoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of those that had carefully preserved it for him, and so succeeded to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Chaldaea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, over which, according to Ptolemy, he reigned forty-three years.

A. M. 3401. In the fourth year of his reign, he had a dream,¶ at Ant. J. C. 603. which he was greatly terrified, though he could not call it again to mind. He therefore consulted the wise men and soothsayers of his kingdom, requiring of them to make known to him the substance of his dream. They all answered, that it was beyond the

* Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. i. xiv. 7.

† Dan. i. 1—7. § Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.

‡ Some imagine him to have been eighteen years of age at this time.

§ Can. Papi. Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. x.

¶ Jer. xiv. 2. 2 Kings,

¶ Dan. ii.

reach of their art to discover it; and that the utmost they could do was to give the interpretation of his dream, when he had made it known to them. As absolute princes are not accustomed to meet with opposition, but will be obeyed in all things, Nabuchodonosor, imagining they dealt insincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to die. Now Daniel and his three companions were included in the sentence, as being ranked among the wise men. But Daniel having first invoked his God, desired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole substance of his dream. *The thing thou sawest, says he to him, was an image of an enormous size, and a terrible countenance. The head thereof was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the feet part of iron and part of clay. And as the king was attentively looking upon that vision, behold a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and the stone smote the image upon his feet, and brake them to pieces; the whole image was ground as small as dust, and the stone became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.* When Daniel had related the dream, he gave the king likewise the interpretation thereof, showing him how it signified the three great empires, which were to succeed that of the Assyrians, namely, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or (according to some) that of the successors of Alexander the Great. *After these kingdoms, continued Daniel, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and this kingdom shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand for ever.* By which Daniel plainly foretold the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The king, ravished with admiration and astonishment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared, that the God of the Israelites was truly the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the highest offices in the kingdom, made him chief of the governors over all the wise men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council, that always attended the court. His three friends were also promoted to honours and dignities.

At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon,* whose generals, that were still in Judea, marched against him, and committed all kinds of hostilities upon his country. *He slept with his fathers, is all the Scripture says of his death.* Jeremiah had prophesied, that he should neither be regretted nor lamented; but should be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem; this was no doubt fulfilled, though it is not known in what manner.

Jechonias succeeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father.† Nabuchodonosor's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jerusalem, in three months' time he himself came at the head of his army, and made himself master of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace of all their treasures, and sent them away to

* 2 Kings, xxiv. 1, 2.

† *Al. Jehoiachin.* 2 Kings, xxiv. 6-18.

Babylon, together with all the golden vessels remaining, which Solomon had made for the use of the temple; he carried away likewise a vast number of captives, amongst whom were king Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias, he set upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwise called Zedekiah.

This prince had as little religion and prosperity as his forefathers.* Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter soon chastised him for it, and immediately laid siege to Jerusalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army gave the besieged a gleam of hope; but their joy was very short-lived; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror returned against Jerusalem, and renewed the siege, which lasted near a twelvemonth. At last the A. M. 3415. city was taken by storm, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Ant. J. C. 589. Zedekiah's two sons were, by Nabuchodonosor's orders, killed before their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judah. Zedekiah himself had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in prison as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burnt, and all their fortifications demolished.

Upon Nabuchodonosor's return to Babylon,† after his successful war against Judea, he ordered a golden statue to be made, sixty cubits high,‡ assembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his subjects to worship it, threatening to cast those that should refuse into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Upon this occasion it was that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, who with an invincible courage refused to comply with the king's impious ordinance, were preserved after a miraculous manner in the midst of the flames. The king, himself a witness of this astonishing miracle, published an edict, whereby all persons whatsoever were forbidden; upon pain of death, to speak any thing amiss against the God of Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. He likewise promoted these three young men to the highest honours and employments.

Nabuchodonosor, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, marched again into Syria, and besieged Tyre, at the time when Ithobal was king thereof. Tyre was a strong and opulent city, which had never been subject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce; by which many of its citizens were become like so many princes in wealth and magnificence.§ It had been built by the Sidonians 240 years before the temple of Jerusalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of its inhabitants made their escape in ships, and founded the city of Tyre. And for this reason we find

* 2 Kings, xxiv. 17—20. and xxv. 1—10.

† Dan iii.

‡ Ninety feet.

§ Ezek. xvi, xxvii. Is. xxiii. 8. Jer. i. xviii. c. 3

it called in Isaiah, *the daughter of Sidon*.^{*} But the daughter soon surpassed the mother in grandeur, riches, and power. Accordingly, at the time we are speaking of, she was in a condition to resist, thirteen years together, a monarch, to whose yoke all the rest of the East had submitted.

It was not till after so long an interval,[†] that Nabuchodonosor made himself master of Tyre. His troops suffered incredible hardships before it; so that, according to the prophet's expression, *every head was made bald*,[‡] and *every shoulder was peeled*. Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired, with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, a mile from the shore, where they built a new city; the name and glory whereof extinguished the remembrance of the old one, which from thenceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of ancient Tyre.

Nabuchodonosor and his army having undergone the utmost fatigues during so long and difficult a siege,[§] and having found nothing in the place to requite them for the service they had rendered Almighty God (it is the expression of the prophet) in executing his vengeance upon that city, to make them amends, God was pleased to promise by the mouth of Ezekiel, that he would give them the spoils of Egypt. And indeed they soon after conquered that country, as I have more fully related in the history of the Egyptians.||

When this prince had happily finished all his wars, and was in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity, he employed himself in putting the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing, of Babylon. The reader may see in Josephus an account of the magnificent structures ascribed to this monarch by several writers.¶ I have mentioned a great part of them in the description already given of that stately city.

Whilst nothing seemed wanting to complete this prince's happiness, a frightful dream disturbed his repose, and filled him with great anxiety.^{**} *He saw a tree in the midst of the earth, whose height was great: the tree grew, and was strong, and the height of it reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit much; and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwell in the boughs thereof; and all flesh was fed of it. Then a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven, and cried, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from its branches. Nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's; and let a beast's heart be given unto him: and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the*

^{*} Isa. xxiii. 12.

[†] Jos. Ant. l. x. c. 11. et con. Ap. l. i.

[‡] Ezek. xxix. 18, 19.

[§] Ezek. xxix. 18—20.

^{||} Vol. 4.

[¶] Antiq. l. x. c. 11.

^{**} Dan. iv.

word of the holy ones; to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

The king, justly terrified at this dreadful dream, consulted all his wise men and magicians, but to no purpose. He was obliged to have recourse to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king himself, plainly declaring to him, *That he should be driven from the company of men for seven years, should be reduced to the condition and fellowship of the beasts of the field, and feed upon grass like an ox; that his kingdom nevertheless should be preserved for him, and he should repossess his throne, when he should have learnt to know and acknowledge, that all power is from above, and cometh from heaven.* After this he exhorted him to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by showing mercy to the poor.

All these things came to pass upon Nabuchodonosor, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he said, *Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?* Would a secret impulse of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the sight of such noble structures erected by himself, appear to us so very criminal? And yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven, and pronounced his sentence: *In the same hour his understanding went from him; he was driven from men, and did eat grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like bird's claws.*

After the expiration of the appointed time, he recovered his senses, and the use of his understanding; *He lifted up his eyes unto heaven (says the Scripture) and blessed the Most High; he praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation: confessing, That all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will, in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?* Now he recovered his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to seek him; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than ever. Penetrated with the heartiest gratitude, he caused, by a solemn edict, to be published through the whole extent of his dominions, what astonishing and miraculous things God had wrought in his person.

One year after this he died, having reigned forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greatest monarchs that ever reigned in the east. He was succeeded by his son

A. M. 3441. EVIL-MERODACH.* As soon as he was settled in Ant. J. C. 563. the throne, he released Jechonias, king of Judah,

out of prison, where he had been confined near seven-and thirty years.

In the reign of this Evil-Merodach, which lasted but two years, the learned place Daniel's detection of the fraud practised by the priests of Bel; the innocent artifice by which he contrived to destroy the dragon which was worshipped as a god; and the miraculous deliverance of the same prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

Evil-Merodach rendered himself so odious by his debauchery and other extravagances,* that his own relations conspired against him, and put him to death.

A. M. 3444. NERIGLISSON, his sister's husband, and one of the Ant. J. C. 560. chief conspirators, reigned in his stead.

Immediately on his accession to the crown,† he made great preparations for war against the Medes, which made Cyaxares send for Cyrus out of Persia, to his assistance. This story will be more particularly related by and by, where we shall find that this prince was slain in battle in the fourth year of his reign.

A. M. 3448. LABOROSOARCHOD, his son, succeeded to the throne. Ant. J. C. 556. This was a very wicked prince. Being born with the most vicious inclinations, he indulged them without restraint when he came to the crown; as if he had been invested with sovereign power, only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the most infamous and barbarous actions. He reigned but nine months; his own subjects conspiring against him, put him to death. His successor was

A. M. 3449. LABYNITUS or NABONIDUS. This prince had like- Ant. J. C. 555. wise other names, and in Scripture that of Belshazzar. It is on good grounds supposed that he was the son of Evil-Merodach, by his wife Nitocris, and consequently grandson to Nabuchodonosor, to whom, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, the nations of the east were to be subject, as also to his son, and his grandson after him: *All nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land shall come.*‡

Nitocris is that queen that raised so many noble edifices in Babylon.§ She caused her own monument to be placed over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription, dissuading her successors from touching the treasures laid up in it, without the most urgent and indispensable necessity. The tomb remained closed till the reign of Darius, who, upon breaking it open, instead of those immense treasures he had flattered himself with discovering, found nothing but the following inscription:—

IF THOU HADST NOT AN INSATIABLE THIRST AFTER MONEY, AND A MOST SORDID, AVARICIOUS SOUL, THOU WOULDST NEVER HAVE BROKEN OPEN THE MONUMENTS OF THE DEAD.

* Beros. Megasthen.
105, &c.

† Cyrop. l. l.

‡ Jer. xlvii. 7.

§ Herod. l. i. cap.

In the first year of Belshazzar's reign,* Daniel had the vision of the four beasts, which represented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Messiah, which was to succeed them. In the third year of the same reign he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat,† which prefigured the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, would bring upon the Jews. I shall hereafter make some reflections upon these prophecies, and give a larger account of them.

Belshazzar,‡ whilst his enemies were besieging Babylon, gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain festival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing. The joy of this feast was greatly disturbed by a vision, and still more so by the explication which Daniel gave of it to the king. The sentence written upon the wall imported, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. That very night the city was taken, and Belshazzar killed.

A. M. 3462. Thus ended the Babylonian empire, after having Ant. J. C. 536. subsisted 210 years from the destruction of the great Assyrian empire.

The particular circumstances of the siege, and the taking of Babylon, shall be related in the history of Cyrus.



CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF THE MEDES.

A. M. 3957. I took notice, in speaking of the destruction of the Ant. J. C. 747. ancient Assyrian empire, that Arbaces, general of the Median army, was one of the chief authors of the conspiracy against Sardanapalus: and several writers believe, that he then immediately became sovereign master of Media, and many other provinces, and assumed the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I shall relate what that celebrated historian says upon the subject.

The Assyrians,§ who had for many ages held the empire of Asia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of several nations. The Medes first threw off their yoke, and maintained for some time the liberty they had acquired by their valour; but that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence, and rapine, prevailed every where, because there was nobody that had either power enough to restrain them, or sufficient authority to punish the offenders. But all these disorders at length induced the people to settle a form of government, which rendered the state more flourishing than ever it was before.

* Dan. vii.

† Dan. viii.

‡ Dan. v.

§ Herod. l. i. c. 95.

The nation of the Medes was then divided into six tribes. Almost all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the state into a monarchy. This person, seeing the great disorders that prevailed throughout all Media, resolved to take advantage of those troubles, and make them serve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He had a great reputation in his own country, and passed for a man, not only regular in his own conduct, but possessed of all the prudence and equity necessary to govern others.

As soon as he had formed the design of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been observed in him more conspicuous than ever: he succeeded so well, that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himself with great prudence; and his cares had all the success that had been expected from them; for he brought the people of that village to a sober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, whom perpetual disorders suffered not to live in quiet, observing the good order Dejoces had introduced in the place where he presided as judge, began to apply to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increasing, all such as had any affair of consequence, brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces, which they could meet with no where else.

When he found himself thus far advanced in his designs, he judged it a proper time to set his last engines to work for the compassing his point. He therefore retired from business, pretending to be over-fatigued with the multitude of people that resorted to him from all quarters: and would not exercise the office of judge any longer, notwithstanding all the importunity of such as wished well to the public tranquillity. Whenever any persons addressed themselves to him, he told them, that his own domestic affairs would not allow him to attend to those of other people.

The licentiousness which had been for some time restrained by the judicious management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, so soon as he had withdrawn himself from the administration of affairs; and the evil increased to such a degree, that the Medes were obliged to assemble, and deliberate upon the means of putting a stop to the public disorder.

There are different sorts of ambition: some, violent and impetuous, carry every thing as it were by storm, hesitating at no kind of cruelty or murder: another sort, more gentle, like that we are speaking of, puts on an appearance of moderation and justice, working under ground, (if I may use that expression,) and yet arrives at her point as surely as the other.

Dejoces, who saw things succeeding according to his wish, sent his emissaries to the assembly, after having instructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for stopping the course of the public evils came to be proposed, these emissaries, speaking in

their turn, represented, that unless the face of the republic was entirely changed, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the present disorders was to elect a king, who should have authority to restrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could prosecute his own affairs in peace and safety; whereas the injustice that now reigned in all parts, would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approved; and the whole company was convinced, that no expedient could be devised more effectual for curing the present evil, than that of converting the state into a monarchy. The only thing then to be done, was to choose a king; and about this their deliberations were not long. They all agreed, there was not a man in Media so capable of governing as Dejoces; so that he was immediately, with common consent, elected king.

If we reflect in the least on the first establishment of kingdoms, in any age or country whatsoever, we shall find, that the maintenance of order, and the care of the public good, was the original design of monarchy. Indeed there would be no possibility of establishing order and peace, if all men were resolved to be independent, and would not submit to an authority which takes from them a part of their liberty, in order to preserve the rest. Mankind must be perpetually at war, if they will always be striving for dominion over others, or refuse to submit to the strongest. For the sake of their own peace and safety, they must have a master, and must consent to obey him. This is the human origin of government.* And the Scripture teacheth us, that the Divine Providence has not only allowed of the project, and the execution of it, but consecrated it likewise by an immediate communication of his own power.

There is nothing certainly nobler or greater than to see a private person, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the highest employments, and yet through inclination and modesty preferring a life of obscurity and retirement: than to see such a man sincerely refuse the offer made to him, of reigning over a whole nation, and at last consent to undergo the toil of government, from no other motive than that of being serviceable to his fellow-citizens. His first disposition, by which he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and consequently with the dangers, annexed to a sovereign power, shows him to have a soul more elevated and great than greatness itself; or, to speak more justly, a soul superior to all ambition: nothing can show him so perfectly worthy of that important charge, as the opinion he has of his not being so, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he generously sacrifices his own quiet and satisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the public, it is plain he understands what that sovereign power has in it really good, or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of

* Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

procuring it many advantages, and of redressing various evils; of causing law and justice to flourish, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of establishing peace and plenty: and he comforts himself for the cares and troubles to which he is exposed, by the prospect of the many benefits resulting from them to the public. Such a governor was Numa, at Rome; and such have been some other emperors, whom the people found it necessary to compel to accept the supreme power.

It must be owned, (I cannot help repeating it,) that there is nothing nobler or greater than such a disposition. But to put on the mask of modesty and virtue, in order to satisfy one's ambition, as Deioces did; to affect to appear outwardly what a man is not inwardly; to refuse for a time, and then accept with a seeming repugnancy, what a man earnestly desires, and what he has been labouring by secret, underhand practices to obtain; this double-dealing has so much meanness in it, that it necessarily lessens our opinion of the person, and extremely sullies the lustre of those good qualities, which, in other respects, he possesses.

A. M. 3294. *DEIOCES reigned fifty-three years. When he had
Ant. J. C. 716. ascended the throne, he endeavoured to convince the people, that they were not mistaken in the choice they had made of him, for restoring of order. At first he resolved to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inspire an awe and respect for his person. He obliged his subjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he strongly fortified, and chose out from among his people such persons as he judged fittest to be his guards, from their attachment to his interests, and his reliance on their fidelity.

After having thus provided for his own security, he applied himself to polish and civilize his subjects, who, having been accustomed to live in the country and in villages, almost without laws and without polity, had contracted the disposition and manners of savages. To this end he commanded them to build a city, marking out himself the place and circumference of the walls. This city was compassed about with seven distinct walls, all disposed in such a manner that the outermost did not hinder the parapet of the second from being seen, nor the second that of the third, and so of all the rest. The situation of the place was extremely favourable for such a design, for it was a regular hill, whose ascent was equal on every side. Within the last and smallest enclosure stood the king's palace, with all his treasures: in the sixth, which was next to that, there were several apartments for lodging the officers of his household; and the intermediate spaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people. The first and largest enclosure was about the bigness of Athens. The name of this city was Ecbatana.

The prospect of it was magnificent and beautiful; for, besides the disposition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours wherewith the several parapets were painted formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finished, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to settle in it, he turned all his thoughts to composing of laws for the good of the state. But being persuaded, that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off, [*major ex longinquo reverentia*, Tacit.] he began to keep himself at a distance from his people; was almost inaccessible, and, as it were, invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak, or communicate their affairs to him, but only by petitions, and the interposition of his officers. And even those that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor spit in his presence.

This able statesman acted in this manner, in order the better to secure to himself the possession of the crown. For having to deal with men yet uncivilized, and no very good judges of true merit, he was afraid that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occasion plots and conspiracies against a growing power, which is generally looked upon with invidious and discontented eyes. But by keeping himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, and making himself known only by the wise laws he made, and the strict justice he took care to administer to every one, he acquired the respect and esteem of all his subjects.

It is said, that from the innermost part of his palace he saw every thing that was done in his dominions, by means of his emissaries, who brought him accounts, and informed him of all transactions. By this means, no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stopped the course of violence and injustice.

Things might possibly pass in this manner to a certain degree during his administration: but there is nothing more obvious than the great inconveniences necessarily resulting from the custom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the rest of the Eastern potentates; the custom, I mean, of living concealed in his palace, of governing by spies dispersed throughout his kingdom, of relying solely upon their sincerity for the truth of facts; of not suffering truth, the complaints of the oppressed, and the just reasons of innocent persons, to be conveyed to him any other way than through foreign channels, that is, by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted; men that stopped up all avenues to remonstrances, or the reparation of injuries, and that were capable of doing the greatest of injustice themselves, with so much the more ease and assurance as their iniquity remained undiscovered, and consequently unpunished. But besides all this, methinks, that very affectation in princes of making themselves invisible, shows them to be conscious of their

slender merit, which shuns the light, and dares not stand the test of a near examination.

Dejoces was so wholly taken up in humanizing and softening the manners, and in making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterprize against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he did not die till after having reigned fifty-three years.

A. M. 3347. PHRAORTES reigned twenty-two years.* After the Ant. J. C. 657. death of Dejoces, his son Phraortes, called otherwise Aphraartes,† succeeded. The affinity between these two names would alone make one believe that this is the king called in Scripture Arphaxad: but that opinion has many other substantial reasons to support it, as may be seen in father Montfaucon's learned dissertation, of which I have here made great use. The passage in Judith,‡ *That Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Ecbatana*, has deceived most authors, and made them believe that Arphaxad must be Dejoces, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the Vulgate translation renders *ædificavit*, says only, *That Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatana*.§ And what can be more natural, than that, the father not having entirely perfected so considerable a work, the son should put the last hand to it, and make such additions as were wanting?

Phraortes,|| being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, attacked the Persians; and defeating them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. Then, strengthened by the accession of their troops, he attacked other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the Upper Asia, which comprehends all that lies north of mount Taurus, from Media as far as the river Halys.

Elate with this good success, he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, at that time indeed weakened through the revolt of several nations, but yet very powerful in themselves. Nabuchodonosor, their king, otherwise called Saosduchinus, raised a great army in his own country,¶ and sent ambassadors to several other nations of the East, to require their assistance. They all refused him with contempt, and ignominiously treated his ambassadors, letting him see that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greatest part of them in a slavish subjection.

The king, highly enraged at such insolent treatment, swore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all those nations, and put them every one to the sword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau. A great battle ensued there, which proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his

* Herod. c. 102.

† He is called so by Eusebius, Chron. Græc. and by Geor. Syncel. ‡ Judith. l. 1, 2.

§ *Ἐπεσυνέτισεν ἐν τῇ Ἐκβατάνῃ*. Judith, Text. Gr. ¶ Herod. l. 1. c. 102.

|| The Greek text places these embassies before the battle.

cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned and put into disorder, and Nabuchodonosor gained a complete victory. Then taking advantage of the defeat and confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquest even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and the walls by storm, and gave the city to be pillaged by its soldiers, who plundered it, and stripped it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at last into the hands of Nabuchodonosor, who cruelly caused him to be shot to death with darts. After that, he returned to Nineveh with all his army, which was still very numerous, and for four months together did nothing but feast and divert himself with those that had accompanied him in this expedition.

In Judith we read that the king of Assyria sent Holofernes with a powerful army, to revenge himself of those that had refused him succours; the progress and cruelty of that commander, the general consternation of all the people, the courageous resolution of the Israelites to withstand him, in assurance that their God would defend them, the extremity to which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the complete overthrow of the Assyrian army, are all related in the same book.

A. M. 3300. CYAXARES I. reigned forty years.* This prince succeeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave enterprising prince, and knew how to make his advantage of the late overthrow of the Assyrian army. He first settled himself well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all Upper Asia. But what he had most at heart was, to go and attack Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father by the destruction of that great city.

The Assyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of that great army, which was destroyed before Bethulia. A battle ensued, wherein the Assyrians were defeated, and driven back to Nineveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid siege to the city, which was upon the point of falling inevitably into his hands, but the time was not yet come, when God designed to punish that city for her crimes, and for the calamities she had brought upon his people, as well as other nations. It was delivered from its present danger in the following manner.

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Padus Mæotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was still marching under the conduct of king Madyes in pursuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to escape from the Scythians, who had advanced as far as Media. Cyaxares, hearing of this irruption, raised the siege from before Nineveh, and marched with all his forces against that mighty army, which, like an impetuous torrent,

was going to overrun all Asia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquished. The Barbarians, finding no other obstacle in their way, overspread not only Media, but almost all Asia. After that, they marched towards Egypt, from whence Psammiticus diverted their course by presents. They then returned into Palestine, where some of them plundered the temple of Venus, at Ascalon, the most ancient of the temples dedicated to that goddess. Some of the Scythians settled at Bethshan, a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which from them was afterwards called Scythopolis.

The Scythians, for the space of twenty-eight years, were masters of the Upper Asia, namely, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia; during which time they spread desolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of getting rid of them, but by a dangerous stratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and strengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was made in every family. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the Scythians massacred. The Medes then repossessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their ancient boundary westward.

The remaining Scythians,* who were not at this feast, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia, to king Halyattes, who received them with great humanity. This occasioned a war between the two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the space of five years, with almost equal advantage on both sides. But the battle fought in the sixth year was very remarkable on account of an eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, when on a sudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Milesian, had foretold this eclipse. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both sides, and made peace. Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and Nabuchodonosor,† king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render it more firm and inviolable, the two princes were willing to strengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed, that Halyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, eldest son of Cyaxares.

The manner these people had of contracting an alliance with one another, is very remarkable. Besides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks, they had this in particular; the two contracting parties made incisions in their own arms, and licked one another's blood.

* Herod. l. i. c. 74.

† In Herodotus he is called Labynetus

A. M. 3378. Cyaxares's first care,* as soon as he found himself again in peace, was to resume the siege of Nineveh, which the irruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, joined with him in a league against the Assyrians. Having therefore united their forces, they besieged Nineveh, took it, killed Saracus the king, and utterly destroyed that mighty city.

God had foretold by his prophets above 100 years before, that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city for the blood of his servants, wherewith the kings thereof had gorged themselves, like ravenous lions; that he himself would march at the head of the troops that should come to besiege it; that he would cause consternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the merciless hands of the soldiers; that all the treasures of the city should fall into the hands of rapacious and insatiable plunderers; and that the city itself should be so totally and utterly destroyed, that not so much as a vestige of it should be left; and that the people should ask hereafter, Where did the proud city of Nineveh stand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themselves:—Woe unto the bloody city (cries Nahum,†) it is all full of lies and robbery: he that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Israel.‡ I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the bounding chariots. The horseman lifted up both the bright sword, and the glittering spear.§ The shield of his mighty men is made red; the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning.|| God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger?¶ Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts: I will strip thee of all thy ornaments.** Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waste. Nineveh is destroyed; she is overthrown; she is desolate.†† The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved.‡‡ And Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves tabering upon their breasts.§§ I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; and there is no end of their corpses: they stumbled upon their corpses.||| Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-places of the young lions, where the

* Herod. l. i. c. 106. † Nahum, iii. 1. ‡ ii. 1, 2. § iii. 2, 3. || ii. 3, 4.

¶ i. 2, 5, 6. ** iii. 5. †† ii. 9, 10.

‡‡ The author in this place renders it, Her temple is destroyed to the foundations. But I have chosen to follow our English Bible, though in the Latin it is *templum*.

§§ Nahum, iii. 6. ||| iii. 3

lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid:* where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine:† The Lord shall destroy Assur. He shall depopulate that city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling-place for wild beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, shall it be said, see that proud city, which was so stately, and so exalted; which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures.‡—

The two armies enriched themselves with the spoils of Nineveh; and Cyaxares prosecuting his victories, made himself master of all the cities of the kingdom of Assyria, except Babylon and Chaldea, which belonged to Nabopolassar.

After this expedition Cyaxares died, and left his dominions to his son Astyages.

A. M. 3409. ASTYAGES reigned thirty-five years. This prince is Ant. J. C. 595. called in Scripture, Ahasuerus. Though his reign was very long, no less than thirty-five years, yet have we no particulars recorded of it in history. He had two children, whose names are famous, namely, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandane, by a former marriage. In his father's lifetime he married Mandane to Cambyses, the son of Achemenes, king of Persia: from this marriage sprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes.

CYAXARES II. This is the prince whom the Scripture calls Darius the Mede.

Cyrus, having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyses, he united the kingdom of the Medes and the Persians into one: in the sequel, therefore, they will be considered only as one empire. I shall begin the history of that empire with the reign of Cyrus; which will include also what is known of the reigns of his two predecessors, Cyaxares and Astyages. But I shall previously give some account of the kingdom of Lydia, because Croesus, its king, has a considerable share in the events of which I am to speak.

* This is a noble image of the cruel avarice of the Assyrian kings, who pillaged and plundered all their neighbouring nations, especially Judea, and carried away the spoils of them to Nineveh.

† Nahum, II. 11, 12

‡ Zephaniah II. 13-15.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE LYDIANS.

THE kings who first reigned over the Lydians,* are by Herodotus called Attyadæ, that is, descendants from Atys. These, he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the son of Atys; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who before this time were called Mæonians.

These Attyadæ were succeeded by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who possessed this kingdom for the space of 505 years.

A. M. 2781. ARGO, great-grandson of Alcæus, son of Hercules, Ant. J. C. 1223. was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned in Lydia.

The last was

CANDAULES. This prince was married to a lady of exquisite beauty; and, being infatuated by his passion for her, was perpetually boasting of her charms to others. Nothing could serve him, but that Gyges, one of his chief officers, should see, and judge of them by his own eyes; as if the husband's own knowledge of them was not sufficient for his happiness.† or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his silence. The king, to this end, placed Gyges secretly in a convenient place; but notwithstanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it. Judging, as the historian represents it, that the most valuable treasure of a woman is her modesty, she studied a signal revenge for the injury she had received; and, to punish the fault of her husband, committed a still greater crime. Possibly, a secret passion for Gyges had as great a share in that action, as her resentment for the dishonour done her. Be that as it will, she sent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime, either by his own death or the king's, at his own option. After some remonstrances to no purpose, he resolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules, became master of his queen and his throne. By this means the kingdom passed from the family of the Heraclidæ into that of the Merminadæ.

Archilochus, the poet, lived at this time, and, as Herodotus informs us, spoke of this adventure of Gyges in his poems.

I cannot forbear mentioning in this place what is related by Herodotus, that amongst the Lydians, and almost all other Barbarians, it was reckoned shameful and infamous even for a man to appear naked. These footsteps of modesty, which are met with amongst pagans, ought to be reckoned valuable.‡ We are assured, that

* Herod. l. i. c. 7—13.

† Non contentus voluptatum suarum tacitâ conscientiâ—prorsus quasi silentium damnum pulchritudinis esset. Justin. l. i. c. 7.

‡ Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi, non lavantur. Retinenda est igitur hujus generis verecundia, præsertim naturâ ipsâ magistrâ et duce. Cic. l. i. de off. n. 129 — Nudare se nefas esse credebatur. Val. Max. l. ii. cap. i.

among the Romans, a son, who was coming to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a son-in-law with his father-in-law: and this modesty and decency were looked upon by them as enjoined by the law of nature, the violation whereof was criminal. It is astonishing, that among us our magistrates take no care to prevent this disorder, which, in the midst of Paris, at the season of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a disorder so visibly contrary to the rules of common decency, so dangerous to young persons of both sexes, and so severely condemned by paganism itself.

Plato* relates the story of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus. He tells us, that Gyges wore a ring, the stone of which, when turned towards him, rendered him invisible; so that he had the advantage of seeing others, without being seen himself; and that by means of this ring, with the concurrence of the queen, he deprived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably signifies, that in order to compass his criminal design, he used all the tricks and stratagems, which the world calls subtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the most secret purposes of others, without making the least discovery of its own. This story, thus explained, carries in it a greater appearance of truth than what we read in Herodotus.

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, that if a wise man had such a ring,† he would not use it to any wicked purpose; because virtue considers what is honourable and just, and has no occasion for darkness.

A. M. 3286. **GYGES** reigned thirty-eight years.‡ The murder of Ant. J. C. 718. Candaules raised a sedition among the Lydians. The two parties, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphic oracle, which declared in favour of Gyges. The king made large presents to the temple of Delphi, which undoubtedly preceded, and had no little influence upon the oracle's answer. Among other things of value, Herodotus mentions six golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amounting to near a million of French money, which is about 48,000*l.* sterling.

As soon as he was in peaceable possession of the throne, he made war against Miletus, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states.

After he had reigned thirty-eight years, he died, and was succeeded by his son

A. M. 3294. **ARDYS**, who reigned forty-nine years.† It was in Ant. J. C. 699. the reign of this prince, that the Cimmerians, driven out of their country by the Scythæ Nomades, went into Asia, and took the city of Sardis, with the exception of the citadel

* Plato de Rep. l. ii. p. 359.

† Hunc ipsum anulum si habeat sapiens, nihilo plus sibi licere putet peccare, quam si non haberet. Honesta enim bonis viris, non occulta quærantur. Lib. iii. de offic. n. 3d.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 13, 14.

§ Herod. l. i. c. 15.

A. M. 3373. **SADYATTES** reigned twelve years.* This prince declared war against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In those days the sieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and lasted many years. This king died before he had finished that of Miletus, and was succeeded by his son.

A. M. 3385. **HALYATTES** reigned fifty seven years.† This is the prince who made war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia. He attacked and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorously prosecuted the war against the Milesians, begun by his father; and continued the siege of their city, which had lasted six years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner: Halyattes, upon an answer he received from the Delphic oracle, had sent an ambassador into the city, to propose a truce for some months. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, having notice of his coming, ordered all the corn, and other provisions, assembled by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the public market; and commanded the citizens, at the sight of a signal that should be given, to be all in a general humour of feasting and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambassador, at his arrival, was in the utmost surprise to see such plenty in the market, and such cheerfulness in the city. His master, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, preferred peace to so apparently fruitless a war, and immediately raised the siege.

A. M. 3442. **CRÆSUS**. His very name, which is become a proverb, conveys an idea of immense riches. The wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the presents he made to the temple of Delphi, must have been excessively great. Most of those presents were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth several millions. We may partly account for the treasures of this prince,‡ from certain mines that he had situate, according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarna; as also from the little river Pactolus, the sand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time, this river had no longer the same advantage.

What is very extraordinary,§ this affluence did not enervate or soften the courage of Cræsus. He thought it unworthy of a prince to spend his time in idleness and pleasure. For his part, he was perpetually in arms, made several conquests, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, as Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus observes, that he was the first conqueror of the Greeks, who till then had never been

* Herod. l. i. c. 16. 22.

§ Herod. l. i. c. 26—28.

† Ibid. c. 19. 22.

‡ Strab. l. xiii. p. 635. & l. xiv. p. 639.

subject to a foreign power. Doubtless he must mean the Greeks settled in Asia Minor.

But what is still more extraordinary in this prince, though he was so immensely rich, and so great a warrior, yet his chief delight was in literature and the sciences. His court was the ordinary residence of these famous learned men, so revered by antiquity, and distinguished by the name of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.

Solon,* one of the most celebrated amongst them, after having established new laws at Athens, thought he might absent himself for some years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis where he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation of so great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appeared in all his regal pomp and splendour, dressed in the most magnificent apparel, which was all over enriched with gold, and glittered with diamonds. Notwithstanding the novelty of this spectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was the least moved at it, nor did he utter a word which discovered the least surprise or admiration; on the contrary, people of sense might sufficiently discern from his behaviour, that he looked upon all this outward pomp, as an indication of a little mind, which knows not in what true greatness and dignity consist. This coldness and indifference in Solon's first approach, gave the king no favourable opinion of his new guest.

He afterwards ordered that all his treasures, his magnificent apartments, and costly furniture, should be showed him; as if he expected, by the multitude of his fine vessels, jewels, statues, and paintings, to conquer the philosopher's indifference. But these things were not the king; and it was the king that Solon was come to visit, and not the walls and chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgment of the king, or an estimate of his worth, by these outward appendages, but by himself and his own personal qualities. Were we to judge at present by the same rule, we should find many of our great men wretchedly naked and desolate.

When Solon had seen all, he was brought back to the king. Croesus then asked him, which of mankind in all his travels he had found the most truly happy? *One Tellus*, replied Solon, *a citizen of Athens, a very honest and good man, who, after having lived all his days without indigence, having always seen his country in a flourishing condition, has left children that are universally esteemed, has had the satisfaction of seeing those children's children, and at last died gloriously in fighting for his country.*

Such an answer as this, in which gold and silver were accounted as nothing, seemed to Croesus to denote a strange ignorance and stupidity. However, as he flattered himself that he should be ranked at least in the second degree of happiness, he asked him, *Who of all those he had seen, was the next in felicity to Tellus?* Solon answered,

* Herod. l. i. c. 29—33. Plut. in Sol. p. 23, 24.

Cleobis and Biton, of Argos, two brothers, who had left behind them a perfect pattern of fraternal affection, and of the respect due from children to their parents. Upon a solemn festival, when their mother, a priestess of Juno, was to go to the temple, the oxen that were to draw her not being ready, the two sons put themselves to the yoke, and drew their mother's chariot thither, which was above five miles distant. All the mothers of the place, ravished with admiration, congratulated the priestess on being the mother of such sons. She, in the transports of her joy and thankfulness, earnestly entreated the goddess to reward her children with the best thing that heaven can give to man. Her prayers were heard. When the sacrifice was over, her two sons fell asleep in the very temple, and there died in a soft and peaceful slumber.† In honour of their piety, the people of Argos consecrated statues to them in the temple of Delphi.*

What, then, says Cræsus, in a tone that showed his discontent, you do not reckon me in the number of the happy? Solon, who was not willing either to flatter or exasperate him any farther, replied calmly: King of Lydia, besides many other advantages, the gods have given us Grecians a spirit of moderation and reserve, which has produced amongst us a plain, popular kind of philosophy, accompanied with a certain generous freedom, void of pride or ostentation, and therefore not well suited to the courts of kings: this philosophy, considering what an infinite number of vicissitudes and accidents the life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to glory in any prosperity we enjoy ourselves, or to admire happiness in others, which perhaps may prove only transient or superficial. From hence he took occasion to represent to him farther, That the life of man seldom exceeds seventy years, which make up in all 6250 days, of which no two are exactly alike; so that the time to come is nothing but a series of various accidents, which cannot be foreseen. Therefore, in our opinion, continued he, no man can be esteemed happy, but he whose happiness God continues to the end of his life: as for others who are perpetually exposed to a thousand dangers, we account their happiness as uncertain as the crown is to a person that is still engaged in battle, and has not yet obtained the victory. Solon retired, when he had spoken these words,‡ which served only to mortify Cræsus, but not to reform him.

Æsop, the author of the Fables, was then at the court of this prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandsome treatment Solon received, and said to him by way of advice: Solon, we must either not come near princes at all, or speak things that are agreeable to them.‡ Say, rather, replied Solon

* Φιλαιδικοὺς καὶ φιλομήτορας διαφερόντως ἄνδρας.

† The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cause of it.

‡ Λυσιπείας μὲν, οὐ νοθευτάτας δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον.

§ "Ὁ Σόλων (ἰσὴ) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δειῖ ὡς ἥμιστος ἢ ὡς ἑξήμιστος ἱμελεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Σόλων. Μὴ δὲ' (εἰπὼν) ἀλλ' ὡς ἥμιστος ἢ ὡς ἑξήμιστος. The jingle of the words

that we should either never come near them at all, or else speak such things as may be for their good.

In Plutarch's time some of the learned were of opinion, that this interview between Solon and Cræsus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as those dates are very uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail against the authority of several credible writers, by whom this story is attested.

What we have now related of Cræsus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the most part are seduced by flattery; and shows us at the same time the two sources from whence that blindness generally proceeds. The one is, a secret inclination which all men have, but especially the great, of receiving praise without any precaution, and of judging favourably of all that admire them and show an unlimited submission and complaisance to their humours. The other is, the great resemblance there is between flattery and a sincere affection, or a reasonable respect; which is sometimes counterfeited so exactly, that the wisest may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Cræsus, if we judge of him by the character he bears in history, was a very good prince, and worthy of esteem in many respects. He had a great deal of good-nature, affability, and humanity. His palace was a receptacle for men of wit and learning, which shows that he himself was a person of learning, and had a taste for the sciences. His weakness was, that he laid too great stress upon riches and magnificence, thought himself great and happy in proportion to his possessions, mistook regal pomp and splendour for true and solid greatness, and fed his vanity with the excessive submissions of those that stood in a kind of adoration before him.

Those learned men, those wits and other courtiers that surrounded this prince, ate at his table, partook of his pleasures, shared his confidence, and enriched themselves by his bounty and liberality, took care not to thwart the prince's taste, and never thought of deceiving him with respect to his errors or false ideas. On the contrary, they made it their business to cherish and fortify them in him, extolling him perpetually as the most opulent prince of his age, and never speaking of his wealth, or the magnificence of his palace, but in terms of admiration and rapture; because they knew this was the sure way to please him, and to secure his favour. For flattery is nothing else but a commerce of falsehood and lying, founded upon interest on one side, and vanity on the other. The flatterer desires to advance himself, and make his fortune; the prince to be praised and admired, because he is his own first flatterer, and carries within himself a more subtle and better prepared poison than any adulation gives him.

That maxim of Æsop, who had formerly been a slave, and still

ἡ ἀρετὴ ὡς ἡ δόξα, which is a beauty in the original, because it is founded in the sense, cannot be rendered into any other language.

retained somewhat of the spirit and character of slavery, though he had varnished it over with the address of an artful courtier; that maxim of his, I say, which recommended to Solon, *That we should either not come near kings, or say what is agreeable to them*, shows us with what kind of men Cræsus had filled his court, and by what means he had banished all sincerity, integrity, and duty, from his presence. In consequence of which, we see he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philosopher, upon which he ought to have set an infinite value; as he would have done, had he but understood the worth of a friend, who, attaching himself to the person, and not to the fortune, of a prince, has the courage to tell him disagreeable truths; truths unpalatable, and bitter to self-love at the present, but that may prove very salutary and serviceable for the future. *Dic illis, non quod volunt audire, sed quod adisse semper volunt.* These are Seneca's own words, where he is endeavouring to show of what great use a faithful and sincere friend may be to a prince; and what he adds farther, seems to be written on purpose for Cræsus: *Give him, says he, wholesome advice.* Let a word of truth once reach those ears, which are perpetually fed and entertained with flattery. You will ask me, What service can be done to a person arrived at the highest pitch of felicity? That of teaching him not to trust in his prosperity; of removing that vain confidence he has in his power and greatness, as if they were to endure for ever; of making him understand, that every thing which belongs to, and depends upon, fortune, is as unstable as herself: and that there is often but the space of a moment between the highest elevation and the most unhappy downfall.*

It was not long before Cræsus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him.† He had two sons; one of which being dumb, was a perpetual subject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was distinguished by every good quality, and his great consolation and delight. The father one night had a dream, which made a great impression upon his mind, that this beloved son of his was to perish by iron. This became a new source of anxiety and trouble, and care is taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partisans, lances, javelins, &c. No mention is made of armies, wars, or sieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match; for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravage in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earnestly importuned his father that he would give him leave to be present, at least as a spectator. The king could not refuse him that request, but intrusted him to the care of a discreet young prince, who had

* *Piennis aures adulationibus aliquando vera vox intret: da consilium utile. Queris, quid felici præstare possis? Effice, ne felicitati suæ credat. Parum in illum contuleris, si illi semel stultam fiduciam permansurus semper potentis exuaseris, docuerisque mobilia esse quæ dedit casus; ac sæpe inter fortunam maximam et ultimam nihil inter esse? Sen. de benef. l. vi. c. 23.*

† Herod. l. vi. c. 34-45.

taken refuge in his court, and was named Adrastus. And this very Adrastus, as he was aiming his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. It is impossible to express either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of the unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murder, who expiated his fault with his blood, stabbing himself in the breast with his own sword, upon the funeral pile of the unfortunate Atys.

Two years were spent on this occasion in deep mourning,* the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loss he had sustained. But the growing reputation and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himself known, roused him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a stop to the power of the Persians, which was enlarging itself every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter upon any enterprise without consulting the gods. But that he might not act blindly, and in order to be able to form a certain judgment on the answers he should receive, he was willing to assure himself beforehand of the truth of the oracles. For which purpose, he sent messengers to all the most celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to inquire, every one at his respective oracle, what Croesus was doing on such a day, and such an hour, before agreed on. His orders were punctually observed; and of all the oracles none gave a true answer but that of Delphi. The answer was given in Greek hexameter verses, and was in substance as follows: *I know the number of the grains of sand on the seashore, and the measure of the ocean's vast extent. I can hear the dumb, and him that has not yet learned to speak. A strong smell of a tortoise boiled in brass, together with sheep's flesh, has reached my nostrils, brass beneath, brass above.* And indeed the king, thinking to invent something that could not possibly be guessed at, had employed himself on the day and hour set down, in boiling a tortoise and a lamb in a brass pot, which had a brass cover. St. Austin observes in several places, that God, to punish the blindness of the Pagans, sometimes permitted the devils to give answers conformable to the truth.

Croesus, thus assured of the veracity of the god, whom he designed to consult, offered 3000 victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of vessels, tripods, and golden tables, to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of 117, to augment the treasures of the temple of Delphi. Each of these ingots weighed at least two talents; besides which, he made several other presents: amongst others Herodotus mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two vessels of an extraordinary size, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minæ; the other of silver, which contained 600 of the measures called amphoræ. All these presents, and many more, which for brevity's sake I omit, were to be seen in the time of Herodotus.

* Herod. l. i. c. 46—50

The messengers were ordered to consult the god upon two points: first, whether Cræsus should undertake a war against the Persians; secondly, if he did, whether he should require the succour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle answered, upon the first article, that if he carried his arms against the Persians, he would subvert a great empire; upon the second, that he would do well to make alliances with the most powerful states of Greece. He consulted the oracle again, to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The answer was, that it should subsist till a mule came to possess the throne of Media; which he considered as an assurance of the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Pursuant to the direction of the oracle, Cræsus entered into an alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pisistratus at their head, and with the Lacedæmonians, who were indisputably the two most powerful states of Greece.

A certain Lydian,* much esteemed for his prudence, gave Cræsus, on this occasion, very judicious advice. *O prince, says he to him, why do you think of turning your arms against such a people as the Persians, who, being born in a wild, rugged country, are insured from their infancy to every kind of hardship and fatigue; who, being coarsely clad and coarsely fed, can content themselves with bread and water; who are absolute strangers to all the delicacies and conveniences of life; who, in a word, have nothing to lose if you conquer them, and every thing to gain if they conquer you; and whom it would be very difficult to drive out of our country, if they should once come to taste the sweets and advantages of it? So far, therefore, from thinking of beginning a war against them, it is my opinion we ought to thank the gods that they have never put it into the heads of the Persians to come and attack the Lydians.* But Cræsus had taken his resolution, and would not be diverted from it.

What remains of the history of Cræsus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I am now going to begin.

* Herod. l. i. c. 71.

BOOK IV.

THE
FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE
OF THE
PERSIANS AND MEDES,
BY CYRUS:

CONTAINING THE REIGNS OF CYRUS, OF CAMBYSES, AND SMERDIS
THE MAGIAN.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF CYRUS.

THE history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit on this subject than the former; and as to those facts wherein they differ, I shall think it sufficient briefly to relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known, that Xenophon served a long time under the younger Cyrus, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, in order to acquaint himself by that means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*: *Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure of informing myself of his birth, his natural disposition, and the method of his education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince; and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me.*

As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother Quintus, that *Xenophon's design, in writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth, as to give a model of a just government*;^{*} this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make

^{*} *Cyrus ille à Xenophonte non ad historiam fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem just imperii.*

us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses, of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates, is to be deemed true; and of this their conformity with the holy Scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertation of the Abbé Banier upon this subject in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres* *

For the greater perspicuity, I divide the history of Cyrus into three parts. The first will reach from his birth to the siege of Babylon: the second will comprehend the description of the siege, and the taking of that city, with every thing else that relates to that great event: the third will contain that prince's history, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

ARTICLE I.

The history of Cyrus from his infancy to the siege of Babylon.

This interval, besides his education, and the journey he made into Media to his grandfather Astyages, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

SECT. I. *Cyrus's education.*

A. M. 3405. Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, and
 Ant. J. C. 590. of Maandane, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes.†
 He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of
 Mandane.

The Persians were at this time divided into twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vast country which has since borne the name of Persia, and were not in all above 120,000 men. But this people having afterwards, through the prudence and valour of Cyrus, acquired the empire of the East, the name of Persia extended itself with their conquests and fortune, and comprehended all that vast tract of country which reaches, from east to west, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to south, from the Caspian sea to the ocean. And still to this day the country of Persia has the same extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his person, and still more deserving of esteem for the qualities of his mind; was of a very sweet disposition, full of good-nature and humanity, and had a great desire for learning, and a noble ardour for glory. He was never afraid of any

* Vol. vi. p. 400

† Xen. Cyrop. l. i. p. 3.

danger, or discouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians, which were excellent, in those days, with respect to education.

The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws.* The education of children was looked upon as the most important duty, and the most essential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whose blind affection and fondness often rendered them incapable of that office; but the state took it upon themselves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner, where every thing was regulated; the place and length of their exercises, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children or the young men, was bread, cresses, and water; for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety: besides, they considered, that a plain, frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragouts, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war to a good old age.

Here boys went to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences; and the crime most severely punished amongst them was ingratitude.

The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced that it is much better to prevent faults than to punish them: and whereas in other states the legislators are satisfied with enacting punishments for criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals amongst them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years of age the boys remained in the class of children; and here it was they learned to draw the bow, and to fling the dart or javelin; after which they were received into the class of young men. In this they were more narrowly watched and kept under than before, because that age requires the strictest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they passed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up; and in this they remained five-and-twenty years. Out of these all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men

* Xen. Cyrop. p. 3-6.

of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the public council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

By this means every citizen might aspire to the chief posts in the government; but no one could arrive at them, till he had passed through all these several classes, and qualified himself for them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all; but generally such only as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age,* not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.

SECT. II.—*Cyrus's journey to his grandfather Astyages, and his return into Persia.*

When Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandane took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Astyages, who, from the many things he had heard said in favour of that young prince, had a great desire to see him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence reigned here universally. Astyages himself was richly clothed, had his eyes coloured,† his face painted, and his hair embellished with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the Persians were very plain and coarse. All this finery did not dazzle Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained every body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was the utmost plenty and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation Cyrus looked upon with great indifference; and observing Astyages to be surprised at his behaviour: *The Persians, says he to the king, instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the pur-*

* Cyrop. l. i. p. 8—22.

† The ancients, in order to set off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexions, used to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater lustre to their eyes, they made their eye-lashes of the same blackness. This artifice was much in use among the Hebrews. It is said of Jezebel, *Depinxit oculos suos stibio*, 2 Kings, ix. 30. This drug had an astringent quality, which shrunk up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckoned a beauty. *Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.* From hence comes that epithet, which Homer so often gives to his goddesses: *ὀφθαλμοὶ μεγάλοι* "Great-eyed Juno

pose. Astyages having allowed Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to show his resentment. Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect shown to this officer, for whom he had a particular regard, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him: *Is that all, papa?* replied Cyrus: *if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I will quickly obtain it; for I will take upon me to serve you better than he.* Immediately Cyrus is equipped as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace that charmed both Astyages and Mandane. When he had done, he flung himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him, cried out with great joy: *O Sacas! poor Sacas! thou art undone; I shall have thy place.** Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said, *I am mighty well pleased, my dear child; nobody can serve me with a better grace: but you have forgotten one essential ceremony, which is that of tasting.* And indeed the cup-bearer was used to pour some of the liquor into his left hand, and to taste it before he presented it to the king: *No,* replied Cyrus, *it is not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony.—Why, then, says Astyages, for what reason did you do it?—Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor.—Poison, child! How could you think so?—Yes; poison, papa; for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the guests had drunk a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned; they sung, made a noise, and talked they did not know what; you yourself seemed to have forgotten that you were king, and they that they were subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs.—Why, says Astyages, have you never seen the same thing happen to your father?—No, never, says Cyrus. How is it with him when he drinks?—Why, when he has drunk, his thirst is quenched, and that's all.*

We cannot too much admire the skill of the historian in giving such an excellent lesson of sobriety in this story: he might have done it in a serious grave way, and have spoken with the air of a philosopher; for Xenophon, warrior as he was, was no less excellent a philosopher than his master Socrates. But instead of that, he puts

* "Ὁ Σάκας, ἀπόλωλες" ἔμβαλῶ σε τῆς τιμῆς.

the instruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a story, which, in the original, is told with all the wit and agreeableness imaginable.

Mandane being upon the point of returning to Persia, Cyrus joyfully complied with the repeated requests his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of his country, and its craggy mountainous situation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his residence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and esteem. He was gentle, affable, anxious to oblige, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their solicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his; and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the Babylonians* (this was Evil-Merodach, son of Nabuchodonosor,) at a hunting-match a little before his marriage, thought fit, in order to show his bravery, to make an irruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved himself so well on this occasion, that the victory which the Medes gained over the Babylonians was chiefly owing to his valour.

A. M. 3491. The year after, his father recalling him, that he Ant. J. C. 583. might complete his course in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion showed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horseback; and when the sad moment came that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-entered the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners: but when they found that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class

* In Xenophon this people are always called Assyrians; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not confound with those of Nineveh whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Nineveh the capital thereof.

of youth; and there it quickly appeared that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience, and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the men's class, wherem he remained thirteen years, till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

SECT. III.—*The first campaign of Cyrus, who goes to aid his uncle Cyaxares against the Babylonians.*

A. M. 3444. Astyages,* king of the Medes, dying, was succeeded
Ant. J. C. 580. by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother. Cyaxares was no sooner on the throne, than he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others, Cræsus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him bad impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations already so powerful, might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power. Cyaxares therefore despatched ambassadors to Cambyses, to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of 30,000 men, all infantry, (for the Persians as yet had no cavalry;) but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised after a particular manner. First of all Cyrus chose out of the nobility 200 of the bravest officers, each of whom was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made 1000 in all; and these were the officers that were called *ὀμότιμοι*,† and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pike-men, ten slingers, and ten bowmen; which amounted in the whole to 31,000 men.

Before they proceeded to the choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the 200 officers, whom, after having highly praised them for their courage, he inspired with the strongest assurance of victory and success. *Do you know, says he to them, the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? They are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness; men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of supporting either the toil of war or the sight of danger: whereas you, that are inured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living; to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce,*

* Cyrop. l. i. p. 22-37.

† Men of the same dignity.

to your meals : fatigues are your pleasure, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only passion. Besides, the justice of your cause is another considerable advantage. They are the aggressors. It is the enemy that attacks us, and it is our friends and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be more just than to repel the injury they offer us ? Is there any thing more honourable than to fly to the assistance of our friends ? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition without having first consulted the gods, and implored their protection ; for you know it is my custom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner.

A. M. 3445.

Cyrus soon after set out without loss of time ; but Ant. J. C. 559. before his departure he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyses had often taught him to consider, that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited ; that they cannot penetrate into futurity ; and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin ; whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as past, and inspire those they love, to undertake what is most expedient for them ; which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to those that invoke and consult them.

Cambyses accompanied his son as far as the frontiers of Persia ; and in the way gave him excellent instructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing that related to the business of war, after the many lessons he had received from the most able masters of that time. *Have your masters,* says Cambyses to him, *given you any instructions concerning economy ; that is to say, concerning the manner of supplying an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the soldiers, of fortifying their bodies by frequent exercises, of exciting a generous emulation among them, of making yourself obeyed, esteemed, and beloved, by your soldiers ?* — Upon each of these points, and upon several others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. *What is it then your masters have taught you ?* *They have taught me to fence,* replied the prince, *to draw the bow, to sling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to see them march, file off, and encamp.* Cambyses, smiling, gave his son to understand, that they had taught him nothing of what was most material and essential for a good officer and expert commander to know : and in one single conversation, which certainly deserves to be well studied by all young gentlemen designed for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all the celebrated masters had done, in the course of several years. One

short instance of this discourse may serve to give the reader an idea of the rest.

The question was, what are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive? *The way to effect that, says Cyrus, seems to be very easy, and very certain: it is only to praise and reward those that obey, to punish and stigmatize such as fail in their duty.—You say well, replied Cambyses; that is the way to make them obey you by force; but the chief point is, to make them obey you willingly and freely. Now the sure method of effecting this, is to convince those you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themselves; for all mankind readily submit to those of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle from whence that blind submission proceeds which you see sick persons pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and the ship's company to the pilot. Their obedience is founded only upon their persuasion, that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and better informed in their respective callings than themselves.—But what shall a man do, says Cyrus to his father, to appear more skilful and expert than others?—He must really be so, replied Cambyses; and in order to be so, he must apply himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprise; and, above all, he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom, and all our success.*

As soon as Cyrus had arrived in Media,* and reached Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the forces on both sides. It appeared by the computation made of them, that the enemy's army amounted to 200,000 foot and 60,000 horse; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarce amounted to half the number of foot: and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not so many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient than to send for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, besides that it would have taken up too much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more sure and more expeditious, which was, that his Persian soldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly used the bow and the javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser, Cyrus was of opinion that they should be armed with such weapons as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was highly approved, and instantly put into execution

* *Cyclop. l. ii. p. 38—40*

Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops,* and inspired them with a surprising emulation, by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. He valued money only as it allowed him an opportunity of being generous. He was continually making presents to one or other, according to their rank or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of the same kind equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of soul, and beneficent disposition, he thought a general ought to distinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his clothes, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour. *A commander could not, he said, give actual proofs of his munificence to every body† and for that very reason he thought himself obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good-will: for though a prince might exhaust his treasures by making presents, yet he could not injure himself by benevolence and affability; by being sincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is so.*

One day,‡ as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him that some ambassadors being arrived from the king of the Indies, he desired his presence immediately: *For that purpose, says he, I have brought you a rich garment; for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour.* Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops, to wait upon the king; though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion, and not (as the Greek text has it) polluted or spoiled with any foreign ornament.§ Cyaxares seemed at first a little displeased at it: *If I had dressed myself in purple, says Cyrus, and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour than I do now by my expedition, and the sweat of my face, and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and despatch your orders are obeyed.*

Cyaxares, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were sent by the king their master to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians, and that they had orders, as soon as they had heard what the Medes should say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to allege on their part: to the end that the king, their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power; to be influenced only by justice, to seek no advantage from the division of neighbours, but declare openly

* Cyrop. l. ii. p. 44.

† Ibid. l. viii. p. 207.

‡ Ibid. l. ii. p. 56.

§ Ἐν τῇ Παρσίῃ σκολῇ οὐδὲν τι ὑβρισμῆν. A fine expression, but not to be rendered into any other language with the same beauty.

against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, that they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the sequel that he declared for the Medes.

A. M. 3447 The king of Armenia,* who was a vassal of the Medes, Ant. J. C. 557. looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay hold on this occasion to shake off their yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay them the ordinary tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly embarrassed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himself exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his design secret, without which it was not likely to succeed. He therefore appointed a great hunting-match on that side of the country; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's son, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he set out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear till a signal was given. After some day's hunting, when they were come pretty near the palace where the court resided, Cyrus communicated his design to his officers; and sent Chrysantas with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters of a certain steep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire, in case of an alarm, with his family and his treasure.

This being done, he sends a herald to the king of Armenia, to summon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time orders his troops to advance. Never was greater surprise, and the perplexity was equally great. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done; and was now destitute of every resource. However, he did what he could to assemble his forces together from all quarters; and, in the mean time, despatched his youngest son, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his scouts, that Cyrus was coming close after them, he entirely lost all courage and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country covered with people that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done them, if they stayed in their houses; but that as many as were taken running away, should be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand, they that were conducting the princesses to

the mountains, fell into the ambush Chrysantas had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters, his eldest son's wife, and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence; where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and soon obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family to be brought into the midst of the army. At the very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a spectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addressing himself to him, said: *Prince, you are come very seasonably to be present at the trial of your father.* And immediately he assembled the captains of the Persians and Medes; and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were then in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded silence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer sincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank than to use dissimulation or falsehood. The king promised he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, proposing each article separately and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war against Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat concluded a treaty with Astyages; whether, by virtue of that treaty, he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country. It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all public and notorious. *For what reason, then,* continued Cyrus, *have you violated the treaty in every article?—For no other,* replied the king, *than because I thought it a glorious thing to shake off the yoke, to live free, and to leave my children in the same condition.—It is really glorious,* answered Cyrus, *to fight in defence of liberty: but if any one, after he is reduced to servitude, should attempt to run away from his master, what would you do with him?—I must confess,* says the king, *I would punish him.—And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to have conducted himself amiss, would you continue him in his post?—No, certainly: I would put another in his place.—And if he had amassed great riches by his unjust practices?—I would strip him of them.—But, which is still worse, if he had held intelligence with your enemies, how would you treat him?—Though I should pass sentence upon myself,* replied the king, *I must declare the truth; I would put him to death.* At these words, Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments. The women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if sentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded silence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect: *Great prince, can you think it consistent with your prudence to put my father to death, even against your own interest?—How against my interest?* replied Cyrus.—*Because he was never so capable of doing you service.—How do you make that appear? Do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to consideration and favour?—They certainly do, provided they serve to make us wiser. For of inestimable value is wisdom: are either riches, courage, or address, to be compared to it? Now it is evident, this single day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wisdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of his designs; but you have happily accomplished all yours; and with that expedition and secrecy, that he has found himself surrounded, and taken, before he expected to be attacked; and the very place of his retreat has served only to ensnare him.—But your father,* replied Cyrus, *has yet undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom.—The fear of evils,* answered Tigranes, *when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Besides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger, and more prevailing motive, than any whatever: and there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature, than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, sceptre, life, wives and children, all restored to him with such a generosity; where can you find, illustrious prince, in one single person, so many strong and powerful ties to attach him to your service?*

Well, then, replied Cyrus, *turning to the king, if I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what number of men, and what sum of money, will you assist us in the war against the Babylonians?—My troops and treasures,* says the Armenian king, *are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. I can raise 40,000 foot, and 8,000 horse; and as to money, I reckon, that, including the treasure which my father left me, there are about 3,000 talents ready money. All these are wholly at your disposal. Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the Chaldeans,* with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and instead of fifty talents exacted 100, and borrowed the like sum over and above in his own name. But what would you give me,* added Cyrus, *for the ransom of your wives?—All that I have in the world,* answered the king.—*And for the ransom of your children?—The same thing.—From this time, then, you are indebted to me twice the value of all your possessions. And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your wife? Now he had but lately married*

* Xenophon never calls the people of Babylonia, Chaldeans; but Herodotus, l. vii. c. 63, and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 730, style them so. The Chaldeans meant in this place were a people adjoining to Assyria.

her, and was passionately fond of her. *At the price, says he, of a thousand lives, if I had them.* Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been upon this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often seen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular esteem. *Alas ! says Tigranes, he is no more ; and I dare not tell you by what accident I lost him.* Cyrus pressing him to tell him ; *My father,* continued Tigranes, *seeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, conceived some suspicion against him, and put him to death. But he was so worthy a man, that, as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and spoke to me in these words : ‘ Tigranes, let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudice, and a false notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.’—O the excellent man !* cried Cyrus, *never forget the last advice he gave you.*

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way ; some extolling his wisdom, others his valour ; some admiring the sweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mein. *And you, says Tigranes, addressing himself to his bride, what do you think of Cyrus’s aspect and deportment ?—I did not observe him,* replied the lady. *—Upon what object then did you fix your eyes ?—Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives as the ransom of my liberty.*

The next day, the king of Armenia sent presents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the sum of money he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days’ time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

I have thought proper, for several reasons, to give so circumstantial an account of this affair ; though I have so far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find it in Xenophon.

In the first place, it may serve to give the reader a notion of the style of that excellent historian, and excite his curiosity to consult the original, the natural and unaffected beauties of which are sufficient to justify the singular esteem which persons of good taste have ever had for the noble simplicity of that author. To mention but one instance ; what an idea of chastity and modesty, and at the same time what a wonderful simplicity, and delicacy of thought, are there in the answer of Tigranes’s wife, who has no eyes but for her husband !

In the second place, those short, close, and pressing interrogato-

ries, each of which demands a direct, precise answer from the king of Armenia, discover the disciple and scholar of Socrates, and show how well he retained the taste of his master.

Besides, this narrative will give us some idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*; the substance of which is true, though it is embellished with several circumstances, added by the author, and introduced expressly to grace his instructive lessons, and the excellent rules he lays down concerning government. Thus much therefore in the event we are treating of is real. The king of Armenia having refused to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him suddenly, and before he suspected any designs against him, made himself master of the only fortress he had, and took his family prisoners; obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his proportion of troops; and after all, so won upon him by his humanity and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the faithfullest and most affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inserted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be ascribed to the historian, than to the history itself.

I should never myself have found out what the story of the governor's being put to death by Tigranes's father signified, though I was very sensible it had some enigmatical meaning in this place. A person of quality,* one of the greatest wits and finest speakers of the last age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, gave me an explanation of it many years ago, which I have not forgotten, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He supposed that Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his master Socrates, of whom the state of Athens became jealous, on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, which he suffered without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought it proper not to miss this opportunity of pointing out such qualities in my hero as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank; and such as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the success of their designs. In most conquerors we find courage, resolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all such talents as make a noise in the world, and are apt to dazzle by their glare: but an inward stock of goodness, compassion, and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reserve even in prosperity and victory, an insinuating and persuasive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest; a constant, unalterable care always to have right on his side, and to imprint such a character of justice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and, lastly, such a clemency, as to distinguish those

that offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them opportunity to return to their duty; these are qualities rarely found in the most celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but which shone forth most conspicuously in Cyrus.

To return to my subject. Cyrus,* before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him some signal service. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harassed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himself of their character, strength, and the situation of their strongholds, marched against them. On the first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans possessed themselves of the eminences to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to assemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus had expected this, and had only placed them there to bring the enemy the sooner to an engagement. And indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians, they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them that he was not come to injure them, or ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms; and he then set them at liberty. Deputies were immediately sent to him, and a peace concluded. For the better security of both nations, and with their common consent, Cyrus caused a fortress to be built upon an eminence which commanded the whole country; and left a strong garrison in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations that should violate the treaty.

Cyrus, understanding that there was a frequent intercourse and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, desired that the latter would send persons to accompany and conduct the ambassador whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Persia, and promised that, if the gods crowned his designs with success, the king should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request, which they could do the more advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The ambassador set out the next day, accompanied by some of the most considerable persons of Chaldea, who were directed to act with all the dexterity in their power, and to do Cyrus's merit that justice which it so well deserved.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country to rejoice Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the

* *Cyrop.* l. iii. p. 70—76

bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him: so that he arrived in Media with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army than he had when he left it.

SECTION IV.

The expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus against the Babylonians. The first battle.

A. M. 3448. Both parties had been employed three years together, Ant. J. C. 556. in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war.* Cyrus, finding the troops full of ardour, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares to lead them against the Assyrians. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to ease him, as soon as possible, of the care and expense of maintaining two armies; that it were better they should eat up the enemy's country, than their own; that so bold a step as that of going to meet the Assyrians, would spread a terror in their army, and at the same time inspire their own troops with the greater confidence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyaes, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour, of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal.

As soon therefore as the customary sacrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire; beseeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure of courage and prudence as was necessary, and, in short, to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer: and indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himself, in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Assyria, it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and succour; after which they began to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days' journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance against them. When the armies came within sight, both sides prepared for battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open country; and, according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus, on the contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the sight and knowledge of the smallness of his army,

covered his troops with several little hills and villages. For several days nothing was done on either side, but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Assyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, *Jupiter protector and conductor*.* He then caused the usual hymn to be sounded, in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardour (*θεοσεβες*), answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and a universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command. *For it is observable*, says the historian in this place, *that on these occasions those that fear the Deity most are the least afraid of men*. On the side of the Assyrians, the troops armed with bows, slings, and darts, made their discharges before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Croesus and their own king to encourage them, were not able to sustain so rude a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warmly pursued them to their very camp, made a terrible slaughter, and the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was killed in the action. Cyrus not thinking himself in a condition to force their entrenchments, sounded a retreat.

The Assyrians,† in the mean time, their king being killed, and the flower of their army lost, were in a dreadful consternation. As soon as Croesus found them in so great a disorder, he fled,‡ and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already observed, the Persians had none.

He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an enemy to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not lose the fruits of victory by too much vivacity; moreover, that he was unwilling to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose to which their behaviour had justly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, desired his permission only to take as many of the horse as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing

* I do not know whether Xenophon, in this place, does not call the Persian gods by the name of the gods of his own country.

† Cyrop. lib. iv. p. 87—104.

‡ Ibid. i. vi. p. 100.

else now but of passing his time with his officers in feasting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had just obtained.

The greatest part of the Median soldiers followed Cyrus, who set out upon his march in pursuit of the enemy. Upon the way he met some couriers, that were coming to him from the Hyrcanians,* who served in the enemy's army, to assure him, that as soon as ever he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in fact they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time, and having marched all night, came up with the Assyrians. Croesus had sent away his wives in the night-time for coolness (for it was the summer-season,) and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Assyrians saw the enemy so near them, they were in the utmost confusion and dismay. Many of those that ran away, being warmly pursued, were killed; all that staid in the camp surrendered; the victory was complete, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses that were taken in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and as for the prisoners, he gave them all liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies, and to put them into a condition of cultivating their lands with entire security.

Whilst the Medes and the Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repast, and even baths prepared for them, that at their return they might have nothing to do but to sit down and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. It was on this occasion that this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity towards their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He desired they would wait their return, both for their refreshments and for the division of the spoil; and that they would show a preference of their interests and conveniences before their own; giving them to understand, that this would be a sure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of securing new victories over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them amply amends for the voluntary losses they might sustain, for the sake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them only to send some bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided (he said) with all they want-

* These are not the Hyrcanians by the Caspian Sea. From observing Cyrus's encampments in Babylonia, one would be apt to conjecture, that the Hyrcanians here meant were about four or five days' journey south of Babylon.

ed, either for their ragouts, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragout, and water from the river their only drink. For that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning they proceeded to the division of the spoils. Cyrus in the first place ordered the Magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty what was most proper to be offered to the gods on this occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained amongst the whole army. They earnestly desired, that the Persians might preside over the distribution; but the Persians absolutely refused it; so they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy,* Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity, and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning when he awaked, he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage, he despatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not dismay Cyrus, who in return wrote him a respectful letter; in which, however, with a generous and noble freedom, he justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him, of taking as many Medes with him as were willing to follow him. At the same time, Cyrus sent into Persia for an augmentation of his troops, designing to push his conquests still farther.

Amongst the prisoners of war whom they had taken, there was a young princess of most exquisite beauty,† whom they had reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear (as he said) such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution of the great designs he had in view. This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received;‡ for it was a principle among the Persians, never to speak before young people of any thing that had any reference to love, lest their natural inclinations to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him very prudent admonition. *I have seen a great many*

* Cyrop. i iv. p. 104-108.

† Lih. v. p. 114, 117, & i. vi. p. 152, 155.

‡ Cyrop. i. i. p. 34.

persons, says he, that have thought themselves very strong, overcome by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution; who have owned afterwards with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and slavery from which they had not the power to redeem themselves; an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts; a kind of bond or necessity,* more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron.—*Fear nothing*, replied Araspes, *I am sure of myself, and I will answer with my life that I shall do nothing contrary to my duty.* Nevertheless, his passion for this young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a height, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of using violence towards her. The princess at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and anguish, burst into a flood of tears; and being overwhelmed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, remained silent. Some days afterwards, Cyrus sent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and, instead of reproaching him with severity, as he expected, spoke gently to him: acknowledging that he himself was to blame, for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By such an unexpected kindness the young nobleman recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. *Alas*, says he, *now I am come to the knowledge of myself, and find most plainly that I have two souls: one, that inclines me to good, another that incites me to evil. The former prevails, when you speak to me, and come to my relief: when I am alone, and left to myself, I give way to, and am empowered by, the latter.* Araspes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.

The loss of so brave an officer,† whom discontent was supposed to have engaged on the enemy's side, caused a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit; she meant her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Persians with 2000 horse, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and circumspectly she had been treated by the generous conqueror. *And how*, cried out Abradates, *shall I be able to acknowledge so important a service?—By behaving towards him, replied*

* *Δακτύλους ισχυροτέρας τῆν ἀνάγκην, ἢ αἱ συνήθειαι ἰδιώτου.*

† *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 155, 156.

Panthea, as he hath done towards me. Whereupon he waited instant-ly upon Cyrus, and grasping the hand of his benefactor: You see before you, says he to him, the tenderest friend, the most devoted servant, and the faithfullest ally you ever had; who, not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself entirely to your service. Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, accompanied by so much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that prince, was abundantly short of the truth.

Two Assyrian noblemen,* likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The king of Assyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas's son, and for that reason had sent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, which the king's son had missed: the latter, who was of a passionate and savage nature, immediately struck him with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather, because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been designed for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother.

A. M. 3412. This young king was called Laborosarchod: he
 Ant. J. C. 553. reigned only nine months, and was succeeded by Nabonidus, called also Labynitus and Belshazzar, who reigned seven-teen years.

The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadatas:† he was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne; because one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman whom he should choose for a wife.

The expectation of this double succour was a strong inducement to Cyrus,‡ and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he designed to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it: to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out therefore with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he

* *Cyrop.* l. iv. p. 111. 112. † *Ibid.* l. v. p. 122, 124. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 112. 123

lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This nobleman came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and golden cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country: and then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seemed still to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgment, which he took the liberty to offer him. *I willingly accept your gold and silver, says Cyrus, and I make a present of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but amongst the nobles of my court, you will find a match suitable for her. It will neither be her riches nor yours, which they will value. I can assure you, there are many amongst them, that would make no account of all the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, formidable to their enemies, and respectful to the gods.* Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house; but he steadfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who stayed and ate with him and his officers. The ground and the green turf that was upon it were all the couches they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment was suitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit; and above all things he admired the ingenious vein of humour, and the innocent cheerfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

Cyrus,* always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadatas, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood there was a strong citadel, which commanded the country of the Sacæ† and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadatas, whose intelligence with the Persians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice, made an offer to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of this citadel made him master of the country of the Sacæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians; raised an army of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse; and the Sacæ furnished 10,000 foot and 2000 horse archers.

* Cyrop. l. v. p. 124—140.

† Not the Sacæ of Scythia.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish Gadatas for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit the conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a challenge to terminate their quarrel by a single combat: but his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of truce, or treaty, with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

When he came near to the frontiers,* he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country; and an army, that was going to receive a farther augmentation of 40,000 men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus; who likewise advanced forwards to meet him with his cavalry, that was very numerous and in good condition. The sight of these troops rekindled the jealousy and dissatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid receiving his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into an explanation with his uncle. He spoke to him with so much temper, submission, and reason; gave him such strong proofs of the rectitude of his heart, his respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were shed on both sides. How great the joy of the Persians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses; and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to salute him, and to bring him presents; some of their own

* *Ctesop.* l. v. p. 141—142.

accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.

Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Crœsus and the Babylonians.* In the council, held the next day in the presence of Cyaxares, and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date that precisely fixes the year wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this notion, that between the two battles against Crœsus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

Cyrus,† then, about this time thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after he had left it, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares, on this occasion, gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage to Cyrus,‡ with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful sense of this advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it, but thought himself not at liberty to accept it, till he had gained the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependance which all children ought to show to their parents on the like occasion, of what age soever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.

When the marriage solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies for accomplishing the great design he had formed.

Foreseeing (says Xenophon) that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time,§ he pitched his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it strongly. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise as if the enemy had been always in sight.

* Cyrop. l. v. p. 148—151.

† Ibid. l. viii. p. 223, 229

‡ Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above sixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable that either of them should wait till that age before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Beside, at that rate, Cambyses would have been but seven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the rest of his history. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do; but I follow the chronology of archbishop Usher. I have also left out what is related in the Cyropædia (l. viii. p. 223,) that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Astyages, the young princess had said she would have no other husband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirteen years old.

§ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 151.

They understood by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniences in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India,* with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost regard, and made them noble presents; and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in fact to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not recognise in this last circumstance the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant that it was an open violation of the laws of nations, to send spies to an enemy's court under the title of ambassadors; which is a character that will not suffer those invested with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery?

Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle,† like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation among his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart, or shoot an arrow, the most dexterously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived that the captains took particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and showed them all possible favour, in order to encourage them. When

* *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 156, 157.

† *Ibid.* p. 157.

he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited a surprising ardour throughout his whole army. In a word, he was a general who, in repose as well as action, nay, even in his pleasures, his conversations, and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the good of the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.

In the mean time,* the Indian ambassadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Croesus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great reinforcement was marching, consisting of 120,000 men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycæonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Assyrians were likewise come up, together with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Ætolians, and most part of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them; that Croesus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbra, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in both by the prisoners and the spies.

Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news.† But that prince having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears and revived their courage.

Cyrus had taken all proper measures,‡ that his army should be provided with all necessaries; and had given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in the doing of which he descended to an astonishing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew very well that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circumstances; in the same manner, as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the disorder of one single wheel, though never so small.

This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names;§ and making use of a low, but significant comparison, he used to say, *he thought it strange that a workman should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent, as not to know the*

* Ocyrop. l. vi. p. 158.
v. p. 131 132

† Ibid. p. 159.

‡ Ibid. p. 158-163.

§ Ibid. l.

names of all his captains, which are the instruments he must make use of in all his enterprises and operations. Besides, he was persuaded, that such an attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe, they are both known and esteemed by their general.

When all the preparations were finished,* Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media, with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.

Cyrus, who well knew how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forwards to attack him in their own territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine that this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country : and they were strangely surprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of their numerous army, or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

SECTION V.

The battle of Thymbra, between Cyrus and Croesus.

This battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided upon the empire of Asia between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians. It was this consideration that induced M. Freret,† one of my brethern in the Academy of Belles Lettres, to examine it with a particular care and exactness ; and the rather, because, as he observes, it is the first pitched battle of which we have any full or particular account. I have assumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, as also without denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I judge necessary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle than I usually do of such matters, because, as Cyrus is looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the military profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action ; moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war, and fought battles, forms an essential part of their history.

In Cyrus's army the companies of foot consisted of 100 men each, exclusively of the captain.‡ Each company was subdivided into

* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 160, 161.

† Vol. vi. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 532.

‡ Cyrop

l. vi. p. 167.

four platoons, which consisted of four-and-twenty men each, not including the person that commanded. Each of these divisions was again subdivided into two files, consisting of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, which sufficiently answers to what we call a colonel; and ten of those bodies had again another superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

I have already observed,* that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of the 30,000 Persians to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them till then made use of javelins only, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers, and swords, or battle-axes; and left few of his soldiers light-armed.

The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback.† Cyrus who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle as cavalry, was sensible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design: and by little and little formed a body of the Persian cavalry, which amounted to 10,000 men, and were the best troops of his army.

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon, that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers; which appears surprising in a man so expert in military affairs as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted in the whole to 196,000 men, horse and foot. Of these there were 70,000 native Persians, viz. 10,000 cuirassiers of horse, 20,000 cuirassiers of foot, 20,000 pikemen, and 20,000 light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of 126,000 men, consisted of 26,000 Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and 100,000 foot of the same nation.

Besides these troops,‡ Cyrus had 300 chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were arrow-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.

He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a larger size,§ upon each of which was placed a tower, of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked abreast.

There was moreover a considerable number of camels,|| upon each

* *Cyrop.* l. ii. p. 39, 40.
l. vi. p. 152, 153, 157.

† *Ibid.* l. iv. p. 99, 100, and l. v. p. 138.
§ *Ibid.* p. 156.

‡ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.* p. 153, 158.

of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

Croesus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus,* amounting in all to 420,000 men, of which 60,000 were cavalry. The troops consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians, to the number of 360,000 men. The Egyptians alone made a body of 120,000. They had bucklers that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short swords, but very broad. The rest of the army was made up of Phœnicians, Cyprians, Cilicians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

Croesus's army was ranged in order of battle in one line,† the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep: but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were 120,000 in number, and who were the principal strength of Croesus's infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of 10,000 men each, which had 100 men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with, one another. Croesus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left: and the design of Croesus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle to which they had been accustomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty stadia, or five miles in length.

Araspes, who, under the pretence of discontent had retired to Croesus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four-and-twenty men in depth,‡ but Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his battalions, to prevent his army's being enclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partisans, battle-axes, and swords; and provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe that the Lydian battalions, that were armed only with light bucklers and javelins, could support the charge. Cyrus therefore thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn

* *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 138.

† *Ibid.* p. 138.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 137.

out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chrysantas, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two stadia, or four miles in extent; and consequently was at each end near four stadia, or half a mile short of the enemy's front.

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spearmen, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by soldiers in their front, over whose head they could fling their javelins and shoot their arrows at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their business was to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill those as traitors that fled; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only serve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual discharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewise be looked upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women and such persons as were unfit for service.

To close all these lines,* and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all 2000 infantry, 2000 horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line, by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of 100 each. One of these bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of Susiana, was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies as they were drawn out and disposed the day before the engagement.

The next day, very early in the morning;† Cyrus made a sacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was sight more beautiful and magnificent: coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to

* *Cyrus*. l. vi. p. 102.

† *Ibid.* l. vi. p. 102.

admire most: men and horses all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.

When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass,* which was only of quilted linen, according to the fashion of his country, his wife, Panthea, came and presented him with a helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she could not refrain from shedding tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. *Our obligations, says she, to that prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was destined for him, but when I came into his hands I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife; and in return I assured him you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness.*—O Jupiter! cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, *grant, that on this occasion I may approve myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor!* Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, kissed the chariot he rode in; and when she had pursued him with her eyes as far as she possibly could, she retired.

As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice,† given his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage that is due to the gods, every man went to his post. Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals,‡ he ate a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed amongst those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise, and poured out a part of it, as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his assistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was considering on which side he should direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, *Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee.*§ And that instant he set forwards, having Chrysantas on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arsamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to pay attention to the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle at

* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 169, 170.

† Ibid. p. 170.

‡ Ibid. l. vii. p. 172.

§ He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out; and the same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He made his troops halt three times before they arrived at the enemy's army; and after having marched about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemies had observed how much their front exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, whilst the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with design to enclose Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having giving the word for rallying the troops, *Jupiter leader and protector*, he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers;* and he, who on all other occasions was so modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory: *Follow me, comrades, says he, the victory is certainly ours: the gods are for us.* He observed that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the movement, which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: *Those troops alarm you, says he; believe me, those are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots.* In fact, the event happened just as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where, he returned to the right wing of his army.

When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended,† Croesus gave the signal to the main body to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, whilst the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each side; so that Cyrus's army was enclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed by a body of foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank: and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment, the troops of the left flank, knowing by the

* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 173—175.

† Ibid. l. vii. p. 176.

noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as ever they were sensible of the approach of these animals (for horses cannot endure the smell of camels,) began to snort and prance, to run foul upon, and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilst they were in this confusion, a small body of horse, commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed with a dreadful slaughter.

This being the signal which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots.* Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being covered with their bucklers, and marching in such close order that the chariots had not room to pierce amongst them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, but for the violence of the horses that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, overturned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had signalized their valour in an extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forwards in close order, and covered with their bucklers, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the moving towers: and the battalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand, hindered their archers and spearmen from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

Cyrus in the mean time having put both the horse and foot to flight on the left of the Egyptians, did not loose time in pursuing the fugitives.† But, pushing on directly to the centre, he had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and rightly judging, that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining farther ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon their rear: the cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all sides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under

* *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 177

† *Ibid.* p. 178.

him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, ran headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, if they would surrender, letting them know, at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions; and, as they prided themselves no less upon their fidelity than on their courage, they stipulated, that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Croesus, in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.

Xenophon observes,* that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, near Cumæ, upon the sea-coast, as also other inland places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds, that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon's, as also many others in several parts of his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of what he advances, show plainly that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious reflection Monsieur Freret makes upon this passage.

The battle lasted till evening.† Croesus retreated, as fast as he could, with his troops to Sardis. The other nations, in like manner, that very night directed their course, each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.

In describing this battle, I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some military men, to whom I have communicated this description, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus drew up his forces in order of battle; as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops which Croesus had detached to fall upon the flanks of Cyrus's army. It is possible such a circumstance might have escaped Xenophon in describing this battle.

It is allowed, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry,‡ which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which, till his time, they had been utterly ignorant. The chariots armed with scythes did good service, and the use of them was ever after retained by the Persians

* *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 179.

† *Ibid.* p. 180

‡ *Ibid.*

The camels, too, were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them; and observes that in his time they made no other use of them than for carrying the baggage.

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice, that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle, in admirable sagacity and foresight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the time fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardour: in the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, and at the same time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall soon see what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration, than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity, which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of all his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military man himself, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame then, and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if on a day of battle he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the God of armies whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than respect for the false deities of paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus!

As for Crœsus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence which Xenophon observes with regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

But let us return to the camp of the Persians.* It is easy to imagine what must be the affliction and distress of Panthea, when the news was brought her of Abradates's death. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and leaning her head upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her eyes steadfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief and indulging her

* *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 184—185.

misery with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathized with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shown to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.

SECTION VI.

The taking of Sardis and of Croesus.

The next day in the morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis.* If we may believe Herodotus, Croesus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces to meet him, and to give him battle. According to the historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could endure neither the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city;† which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling-ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But whilst he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already begun to disperse themselves in all quarters. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were by a single command, in a city so abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Croesus himself whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

* Herod. l. i. c. 79—84.

† Cyrop. l. vii. p. 180.

When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city,* he had a private conversation with the king, of whom he asked, among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphi, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom it was said, he had always a great regard? Cræsus first acknowledged, that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shown a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him; so that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead a happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness when he once came to the knowledge of himself. *For want of this knowledge*, continued he, *and believing myself through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in a war against a prince infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am going to begin to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me (for my fate is in your hands,) I shall certainly be so.* Cyrus, touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from so great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him (as Cræsus acknowledged himself) from all the burdensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead a happy life, exempt from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, or to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this story with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithstanding they seem to be much more wonderful than true.

I have already observed,† that the only son Cræsus had living was dumb. This young prince, seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his scimitar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the string of his tongue, and cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of Cræsus.*

Cræsus being a prisoner, was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive.‡ Accordingly, the funeral pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince, being laid thereon, and just upon the point of

* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 181—184.

† Herod. l. i. c. 85.

‡ Ibid. c. 86—81. Plat. in Solon.

astonishment, recollecting the conversation he had formerly had with Solon,* was wofully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof, cried aloud three times, *Solon! Solon! Solon!* Cyrus, who, with the chief officers of his court, was present at this spectacle, was curious to know why Croesus pronounced that celebrated philosopher's name with so much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and reflecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiseration at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect. Thus had Solon the glory,† with one single word, to save the life of one king, and give a wholesome lesson of instruction to another.

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Croesus to engage in the war which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he was to believe himself in danger when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them: the other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he despatched messengers to Delphi, with orders to make a present to the god, in his name, of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding the numberless presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Croesus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind, in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answers to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that, let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprised of Cyrus's having subdued the Lydians,‡ they sent ambassadors to him at Sardis, to desire he would receive them as his subjects upon the same conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who before his victory had solicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, answered them

* This conversation is already related.

† Καὶ δέξαι ἔρχει ὁ Σόλων ἐν λέγει τὸν μὴ εἶναι, τὸν δὲ παιδύσαι τὸ βασιλείαν. Plut. ‡ Herod. l. i. c. 141. 139, 153.

only by a fable of a fisherman, who having played upon his pipe, in order to make the fish come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of succeeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their succour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon sent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know that they would not suffer him to undertake any thing against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at such a message, and warned them in his turn to take care, and put themselves in a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, and the Persians had no shipping.

ARTICLE II.

The history of the besieging and taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

Cyrus stayed in Asia Minor,* till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into subjection, from the *Ægean* sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subjected. After which he entered into Assyria, and advanced towards Baby'on, the only city of the east that stood out against him.

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design: but, despairing to take the place by storm or assault, he made them believe his design was to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour.

SECTION I.

Predictions of the principal circumstances relating to the siege and the taking of Babylon, as they are set down in different places of the Holy Scriptures.

As the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances with which it was attended were foretold in the Holy Scriptures many years before it

* Herod. l. i. c. 177. *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 126—128

happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the profane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

I. *The Prediction of the Jewish Captivity at Babylon, and of the Time of its Duration.*

God Almighty was pleased not only to cause the captivity, which his people were to suffer at Babylon, to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and irretrievable destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. *And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years.* Jer. xxv. 11.

II. *The Causes of God's Wrath against Babylon.*

That which kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. her insupportable pride; 2. her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews and 3. the sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. *Her pride.* She believed herself to be invincible.* She said in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood. Eternity is written in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it.

2. *Her cruelty.* It is God himself that complains of it. *I was willing,†* says he, *to punish my people, as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recall them, as soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her prince have added to the paternal chastisement which I inflicted, such cruel and inhuman treatment as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy; mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shewn no compassion or regard either to age, infirmity, or virtue.*

3. *The sacrilegious impiety of her king.* To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors Belshazzar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the

* Dixisti, In sempiternum ero domina—Dicis in corde tuo, Ego sum, et non est preter me amplius: non sedebo vidua, et ignorabo sterilitatem. Isa. xlvii. 7, 8.

† Iratus sum super populum meum, et dedi eos in manu tuâ, Babylon. Non posuisti eis misericordiam: super schemi aggravasti jugum tuum valde. Veniet super te malum. Isa. xlvii. 6.

true and only God, but fancied that he had vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had belonged to his worship; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply those holy vessels to profane uses. This was what completed the measure of God's wrath.

III. *The Decree pronounced against Babylon. Prediction of the Calamities that were to fall upon her, and of her utter Destruction.*

Make bright the arrows, gather the shields, saith the prophet, speaking to the Medes and Persians. The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple.*

Howl ye,† for the day of the Lord is at hand,—a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land desolate. Behold,‡ I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria.†

*Shout against her round about.¶ Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her:—and spare not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host. Every one that is found shall be thrust through,‡ and every one that is joined to them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children. O daughter of Babylon,** who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones.*

And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.†† It shall never be inhabited; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there; and satyrs shall dance there: And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces. I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water;‡‡ and I will weep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts. The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have proposed, so shall it stand.

* Jer. II. 11.

† Isa. xiii. 6, 9.

‡ Jer. I. 18.

§ In the destruction of Nineveh.

¶ Jer. I. 15, 20, and II. 2.

‡ Isa. xiii. 15—18.

** Ps. cxxxvii. 5, 9.

†† Isa.

xiii. 19—22.

‡‡ Isa. xiv. 23, 24.

IV. *Cyrus called to destroy Babylon, and to deliver the Jews.*

Cyrus, whom the Divine Providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing his designs of goodness and mercy towards his people was mentioned in the Scripture by his name, above 200 years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surpris'd at the marvellous rapidity of his conquests, God was pleas'd to declare, in very sublime and remarkable terms, that he himself would be his guide; and that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. *Thus saith the Lord to his anointed,* to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel: For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel, mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.*

V. *God gives the Signal to the Commanders, and to the Troops, to march against Babylon.*

Lift ye up a banner, saith the Lord, upon the high mountain,† that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. Exalt the voice unto them that are able to hear you. Shake the hand, as a signal to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops go into the gates of the nobles, into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go unto his tent, which is already set up.

I have commanded my sanctified ones;‡ I have given my orders to those whom I have sanctified for the execution of my designs; and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made divers nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their administration. I have called my mighty ones for mine anger.§ I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me: every thing gives way, and trembles,

* Isa. xlv. 1—4.
in the med. Heb. in from meam.

† Ibid. xiii. 2

‡ Ibid. xiii. 3.

§ Lat. vers.

before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, *they rejoice in my highness*. The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness: Behold! they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the swiftness with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, *The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people: a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together.* The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle:† They come from a far country, from the end of heaven, where the voice of God, their master and sovereign, has reached their ears.*

But it is not with the sight of a formidable army, nor of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck; it is God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. *It is even the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land.*

A grievous vision is declared unto me:‡ The impious Belshazzar,§ king of Babylon, continues to act impiously; the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth. To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia; go up, O Elam: And thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon: *Besiege, O Media; all the sighing, which she was the cause of, have I made to cease.* That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VI. Circumstances relating to the siege and the taking of Babylon, minutely detailed.

There is nothing, methinks, better calculated to raise in us a profound reverence for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages, before it happened.

1. We have already seen that the army by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way which she did not at all expect: *Therefore shall evil come upon thee: thou shalt not know from whence it riseth.¶* She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she was not able to foresee: *Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know.†* In a word she shall be taken, as it were

* Isa. xlii. 4.
of the Hebrew words.

† Ibid. ver. 5.
‡ Isa. xlvii. 11.

§ Ib. xxi. 2.
¶ Ibid.

§ This is the sense

in a net, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: *I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware.**

3. Babylon reckoned the Euphrates alone was sufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated and defended by so deep a river: *O thou that dwellest upon many waters:†* it is God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem (of which there had never been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it since) shall turn the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: *I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry.‡* A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up. Cyrus shall take possession of the quays of the river; and the waters which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had been consumed by fire. *The passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire.§*

4. She shall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of feasting and rejoicing, even whilst her inhabitants are at table and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: *In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord.||* It is remarkable, that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon: *I have laid a snare for thee,¶* who drieth up the waters of the river; *I will dry up her sea;* and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes: *I will make drunk her princes.***

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: *My loins are filled with pain: pangs have taken hold upon me as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it: I was dismayed at the seeing of it; my heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: The night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me.††* This is the condition Belshazzar was in, when in the middle of the entertainment he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more especially when Daniel declared to him, that those characters imported the sentence of his death. Then,†† says the Scripture, *the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.* The terror, astonishment, fainting, and trembling of Belshazzar, are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them 200 years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the description of

* Jer. i. 24. † Nl. ii. 12. ‡ Id. i. 38. and ii. 36. § Id. ii. 22. || Id. ii. 38.
¶ Id. i. 24. ** Id. ii. 57. †† Isa. xli. 3, 4. †† Dan. v. 6.

Belshazzar's consternation, the following words: *Prepare the table,* watch in the watch tower, eat, drink.* The prophet foresees, that Belshazzar, though dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his courage and spirits, through the exhortations of his courtiers; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears, and unnecessary alarms; *Let not thy thoughts trouble thee,† nor let thy countenance be changed.* They will exhort him therefore to make himself easy; to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the sentinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recall that gaiety and joy, which his excessive fears had banished from the table: *Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.*

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his; *Arise ye princes,‡ and anoint the shield.* It is God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine, or buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops with which it is filled, shall not keep their ground, or stand firm any where, neither at the palace nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatsoever; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their escape; that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep, is dispersed and scattered, when they are affrighted: *And it shall be as a chased roe,§ and as a sheep that no man taketh up.* The second circumstance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors; because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: *They shall turn every man to his own people,|| and flee every one into his own land.*

8. Lastly, not to mention the dreadful slaughter which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shown either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already noticed: the last circumstance, I say, which the prophet foretells, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are described in the Scripture, in a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. *But thou art cast out of thy grave,¶ like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them (thy ancestors) in burial,*

* Isa. xxi. 5.

† Dan. v. 10.

‡ Isa. xxi. 5.

§ Isa. xlii. 14.

|| Ibid.

¶ Isa. xiv. 19, 20.

because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people. That king is justly forgotten, who has never remembered, that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, he ought to have no place amongst them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried; and since he had no sentiments of humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence which God himself pronounceth against Belshazzar: and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleasing prospects and ideas of their future grandeur. Prepare slaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rise nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord.*

SECTION II.

A description of the taking of Babylon.

After having seen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to the impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the accomplishment of those prophecies; and to resume our narrative of the taking of that city.

As soon as Cyrus saw that the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed that in the city a great festival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

Belshazzar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other,† and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. When flushed with wine, he ordered the gold and silver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought out; and as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels. God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, at the same instant made him sensible who it was that he affronted, by a sudden apparition of a hand, writing certain characters upon the wall. The king, terribly surprised, and frightened at this vision, immediately sent for all his wise men, his diviners, and astrologers, that they might read the writing to

* Isa. xiv. 21, 22.

† Dan. v. 1-22.

him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the characters.* It is probably in relation to this occurrence, that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon that she shall be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, *Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers, the star gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee.* Is. xlvii. 12, 13. The queen-mother, (Nitocris, a princess of great merit,) coming upon the noise of this great prodigy into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the mind of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the flagrant abuse he made of his power,† when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself empowered to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wheresoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. *And thou his son, says he to the king, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knowest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them: and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know and the God, in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the interpretation of the thing: MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it, TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.* This interpretation, one would think, should have aggravated the consternation of the company; but they found means to dispel their fears, probably upon a persuasion, that the calamity was not denounced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of disturbing the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to another time, and sat down again to their banquet, and continued their rellings to a very late hour.

* The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand.

† Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down. Dan. v. 19.

‡ These three words signify, number, weight division.

§ Or PERES.

Cyrus,* in the mean time, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered into the city, and another part on that side where it went out; and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the guidance of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides of the city, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two forementioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadatas, and advanced without meeting any obstacle. The invisible guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night subservient to his design, by leaving open the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the quays to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in, and quickly made themselves masters of it; and meeting the king, who came up to them sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him, and put all those that attended him to the sword. The first thing the conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at least punished that impious king. These words are Xenophon's, and are very worthy of attention, as they so perfectly agree with what the Scriptures have recorded of the impious Belshazzar.

A. M. 3466. The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian
 Ant. J. C. 538. empire, after a duration of 210 years from the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished those predictions, which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important and the most incredible of them all, and yet the Scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness; a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points; the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed &c.

* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 120—122.

a nature not to be contested. What I mean is the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or traces should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

SECTION III.

The completion of the prophecy which foretold the total ruin and destruction of Babylon.

This prediction we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the thirteenth chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verses, and in the 23d and 24th verses of the fourteenth chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 132, &c. It is there declared, that Babylon shall be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that the shepherd shall not come thither even to rest his flock; that it shall become a dwelling place for the wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, so that no trace shall be left to show where Babylon had been. It is God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion to show how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

I. In the first place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place; and did themselves destroy a good part of Babylon.

A. M. 3880. II. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Ant. J. C. 194. Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to embellish or even repair it, but that moreover they built Seleucia in the neighbourhood,* on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold; *It shall not be inhabited.* Its own masters endeavour to make it desolate.

III. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building Ctesiphon,† which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that from thence time the curse was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; and had all thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of

* Partem urbis Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia; maxime postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, studiis tantum tresentis à Babylone distant. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

In solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleucia, ob id condita à Nicatore intra nonagesimum (or quadragesimum) lapidem. Plin. l. vi c. 38.

† Pro illa Seleuciam et Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum inclytas fecerunt. S. Hieron. in cap. xlii. Isa.

solitude, though by indirect means, and without using any violence; that it might more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

IV. She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition she was reduced at

A. D. 98. the time when Pausanias wrote his remarks upon

Greece.* *Illa autem Babylon omnium quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habet reliqui.* Paus. in Arcad. pag. 509.

V. The kings of Persia finding their place deserted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals, that flee before him. Instead of citizens, she was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. *Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces.*†

A. D. 400. St Jerome has transmitted to us the following valu-

able remark which he had from a Persian monk, that he had himself seen what he related to him. *Didicimus à quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus ambitu tantam contineri.* In cap. Isa. xiii. 22.

VI. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals which were to be subservient to the pleasure of the Persian kings, abandoned the place; serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after, its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way; so that in Theodoret's time there was nothing more than a very stream of water left,‡ which ran across the ruins, and, not meeting with a slope or free passage, necessarily degenerated into a marsh.

In the time of Alexander the Great,§ the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; the outlets being badly stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work.

* He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, successor to Adrian. † Isa. xiii. 21, 22.

‡ Euphrates quondam urbem ipsam mediam dividebat; nunc autem fluxus conversus est in aliam viam, et per rudera minimus aquarum meatus fuit. Theodor. in cap. I. Jerem. ver. 28, 30.

§ Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. viii.

But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who had declared, he would destroy even to the very remains and footsteps of Babylon [*I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant.**] defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold: *I will make it pools of water.†* And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

VII. By means of all these changes Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the most able geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood.‡ In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled: *I will cut off from Babylon the name—I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.¶* I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name, and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every trace of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, the Lord, have abolished. *I will sweep it with the besom of destruction saith the Lord of hosts.*

VIII. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. *The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.¶* But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world: it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the saints and the reprobate. The Scriptures that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited as it were, in the public archives of religion. *The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, As I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.*

What I have said of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almost all entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah, which is still in manuscript.

* Isa. xiv. 22.

† Ib. xiv. 23.

‡ Nunc omnino destructa, ita ut vix ejus supersint rudera. Baudrand.

¶ Isa. xiv. 22, 23.

¶ Isa. xiv. 24.

SECTION IV.

What followed upon the taking of Babylon.

Cyrus,* having entered the city in the manner we have described, put all to the sword that were found in the streets: he then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison which kept the citadel being apprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.

The first thing he did was, to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then, having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army.† After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overcome by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country and for that purpose, to take a particular care to give their children a good education. This (says he) will necessarily engage us daily to make further advances in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples: nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us, but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.

Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications;‡ but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependance upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the

* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 122.

† Cyrop. l. vii. p. 197, 206.

‡ Ibid. 202.

rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so on, till, by these different degrees, and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not remain idle in the midst of all this motion, but was, as it were, the soul to the body of the state, which, by this means, he governed with as much ease as a father governs his private family.

When he afterwards sent governors, called *satrapæ*,* into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, nor the commanding officers of the troops maintained for the security of the country, to be dependant upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; in order that, if any of these *satrapæ*, elate with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his mal-administration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as the trusting of any one man with absolute power, well knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, if all others are thereby abused and kept under.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity,† who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all those that distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He infinitely preferred clemency to martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and useful. He was sensible that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners;‡ but, in his opinion, the prince, by his example, was to be a living law to his people. Nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others,§ unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed: he was also persuaded,|| that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or to say any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal;¶ nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others. *I have prodigious riches,*** says he to his courtiers, *I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, even if I desired it. No: the chief end I aim at is to have it in my power to reward those who*

* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 220.

† Ibid. 220.

‡ Ibid. p. 209.

§ Ibid. 220.

¶ Ibid. 204.

§ Ibid. 205.

|| Ibid. 204.

serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities.

Crœsus one day represented to him,* that by continual largesses he would at last make himself poor, whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. *And to what sum,* replied Cyrus, *do you think those treasures might have amounted?* Crœsus named a certain sum, which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a short note to be written to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him than Crœsus had mentioned. *Look here,* says Cyrus to him, *here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affection of my subjects.*

But much as he esteemed liberality, he laid a still greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability, and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion.† Upon this therefore he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of Magi, to sing daily a morning service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised amongst them in succeeding ages.

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed that by serving the gods as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus, on the other hand, was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments, being convinced, that whosoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

Cyrus, being resolved to establish his chief residence at Babylon,‡ a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto,

* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 210.

† Ibid. p. 204.

‡ Ibid. l. vii. p. 108

in regard to the safety of his person. The most dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping. He determined therefore to suffer nobody to be near him at those times, but such persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and besides were generally despised on account of the meanness of their birth and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by every consideration to attach themselves solely to their masters, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was, that they possessed either wealth or consequence. Cyrus therefore intrusted all the offices of his household to eunuchs: and this practice, which was not unknown before his time, from thenceforth became the general custom of all the eastern countries.

It is well known, that in after times it prevailed also amongst the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity, and merit, to intrust them also with the management of some public business, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy, having got possession of their masters' minds and confidence, they came to possess great influence at court, to have the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive themselves at the highest offices and dignities of the state.

But the good emperors,* such as Alexander Severus, held the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures sold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; persons, whose sole view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to conceal the knowledge of public business as much as possible from him, to preclude access to him from any person of real merit, and to keep him shut up and imprisoned, in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire ascendant and dominion over him: *Claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

When Cyrus had established his regulations in every thing relating to the government,† he resolved to show himself publicly to his own people, and to his newly conquered subjects, in a solemn, august ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This

* Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sever.

† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 213, 220.

was the first time that prince ever aimed at procuring respect towards himself, not only by the attractions of virtue (says the historian,) but by such an external pomp as was calculated to attract the multitude, and worked like a charm or enchantment upon their imaginations.* He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and allies to attend him and gave each of them a dress after the Median fashion; that is to say, long robes, which hung down to the feet. These were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers. It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of the Medes,† and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more sparkling, and in painting their faces, in order to enliven their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and 2000 on the two sides of it ranged in the same order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side, and half on the other. As soon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and the other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next followed the horses that were to be sacrificed to the Sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the Sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with scarlet housings. Behind came the men who carried the sacred fire on a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with a royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat his master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the height of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him; whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many

* Ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγοντεύει ζωτο χρεῖνας αὐτοῦς.

† *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 206

awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the 4000 guards began to march; the other 2000 moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side of the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's household, to the number of 300, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them followed 200 led horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroidered furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of 10,000 men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four abreast, closed the procession.

When they came to the fields consecrated to the gods, they offered their sacrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the Sun. To the honour of the first were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the second horses. They likewise sacrificed some victims to the Earth, according to the appointment of the Magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of Syria.*

In order to afford the people some recreation after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot-races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out, about five stadia,† and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for nobody was so complete a horseman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one against another.

This kind of procession continued a long time afterwards amongst the Persians, except only that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

Some days after,‡ Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all the chief officers, as well foreigners as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present; so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude: and all-powerful as he was, master of all the East, and so many kingdoms, he did not think it derogatory to his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.

* Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Amyria.
‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 220—224.

† A little above half a mile

ARTICLE III.

The history of Cyrus, from the taking of Babylon to the time of his death.

Cyrus, finding himself master of all the East by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life; to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a constant application to the duties of his high station.

SECTION I.

Cyrus takes a journey into Persia. At his return from thence to Babylon, he forms a plan of government for the whole empire. Daniel's credit and power.

When Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon,* he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him at the same time that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in co-partnership with him, though A. M. 3466. he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own Ant. J. C. 538. valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. It is Cyaxares who is called in Scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

When they arrived there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. They divided it into 120 provinces.† And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition,‡ Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the couriers, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible despatch. The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most,§ and rendered him the greatest service in the war. Over these governors were appointed three superintendents,|| who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account from time to time of every thing that passed in their respective provinces,

* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 227.

† Dan. vi. 1

‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232.

§ Id. p. 230.

|| Dan. vi. 2, 3.

and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the affairs of the whole empire. Of these three, Daniel was made the chief. He highly deserved such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the East, and had been displayed in a distinguished manner at Belshazzar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age and consummate experience: for at that time it was full sixty-seven years, from the fourth of Nabuchodonosor, that he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

As this distinction made him the second person in the empire,* and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him, that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatsoever, for the space of thirty days either of any god or any man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and coming out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.

Towards the end of the same year,† which was reckoned the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, prayed earnestly to God that he would vouchsafe to remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel assured him in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance, much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to elapse from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of 490 years. For, taking each day for a year, according to the language used sometimes in Holy Scripture, those seventy weeks of years made up exactly 490 years.

Cyrus,‡ upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they consisted of 120,000 horse, of 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with so many of them as were necessary for the defence of the

* Dan. vi. 4-27

† Dan. ix. 1-27

‡ Cyrep. i. viii. 232.

several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Ethiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just now related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which for their fineness and beauty were for several ages preferred to all other money throughout the whole East.

SECTION II.

The beginning of the united empire of the Persians and Medes. The famous edict of Cyrus. Daniel's prophecies.

Here, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomannus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of 206 years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the first three kings; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

A. M. 3468. CYRUS. Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, Ant. J. C. 536. and Cambyzes likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the empire.

The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently.* Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time, when, by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyzes, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years, precisely, expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who possessed great influence at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him this request, he showed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah,† wherein, above 200 years before his birth, he was marked out by name as a prince appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and, at the same time, to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper in this place to insert

* Cl. I. l. de Div. p. 46.

† Isa. xlv. xlv

that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which, it may be presumed, God had endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of glorious victories and success.

*In the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia. The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the true God,) which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the free will offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem.**

Cyrus, at the same time, restored to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nabuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god. Shortly after the Jews departed under the conduct of Zorobabel, to return into their own country.

The Samaritans,† who had long been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they so far prevailed by bribes and underhand dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, as to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on very slowly.

A. M. 3470. It seems to have been through grief at seeing the execution of this decree so long retarded,‡ that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquest of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter,§ we have reason to conjecture, that he died soon after; and, indeed, his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for at this time he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives, and some suppose him to have been eighteen

* Ezra, i. 1—4.

† Ezra, iv. 1—5.

‡ Dan. x. 1—3.

§ But go thou thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days. Dan. xii. 13.

years of age at that time : from that early age he had given proofs of wisdom, more than human, in the judgment of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much esteemed by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. Josephus* speaks of a famous edifice built by him at Susa,† in the manner of a castle ; which he says still subsisted in his time, finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried ; and, for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to the time of Josephus. It was a common tradition in those parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that city,‡ and there they show his monument even to this day. It is certain, that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us that *he did the king's business there*,§ that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

Reflections upon Daniel's Prophecies.

I have hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar,|| and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years restored again to his understanding and to his throne. It is well known the matter happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction: the king himself relates it in a declaration addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine ; to speak of it, as having been sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it ; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full of both Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of such importance, and so injurious to the king, the falsehood of which must have been notorious to all the world ?

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which designate the succession of the four great empires, and which, for that reason, have an essential and necessary relation to the subject matter of this work, which is, no other than the history of those very empires.

* Antiq. l. x. cap. 12.

† So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerome, who relates the same fact ; Comm. sa. Des. viii. 2. and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus.

‡ Now called Tustor.

§ Dan. viii. 37.

|| Dan. iv.

The first of these prophecies has reference to the dream which Nebuchadnezzar had,* of an image composed of different metals, gold, silver, brass, and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beaten as small as dust by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have all already recited at large.†

About fifty years after,‡ the same Daniel saw another vision very like that which I have just been speaking of: this was the vision of the four large beasts which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagles' wings; the second was like a bear; the third was like a leopard, which had four heads; the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. From the midst of the ten horns, which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the other; the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand millions of angels, pronounced an irreversible judgment upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations, and all the tribes, an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed, that the different metals of which the image was composed, and the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the Romans.§ This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but He only who is the master of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who by a supernatural revelation imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases?||

In the following chapter this prophet speaks with still greater clearness and precision.¶ For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner: The ram, which hath

* Dan. ii. † Pag. 83, 84.

‡ This was the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon. Dan. vii.

§ Some interpreters, instead of the Romans, substitute the kings of Syria and Egypt, Alexander's successors.

|| He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth and setteth up kings. He revealeth the deep and secret things; and the light dwelleth with him. Dan. ii. 22, 23.

¶ Dan. viii.

two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat, which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians: and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel see that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes, by saying, that *he touched not the ground*? How did he learn, that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover,* that Alexander would have no son to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered and divided into four principal kingdoms; and his successors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north?

The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign,† foretel, that the fourth of Cyrus's successors, should gather together all his forces to attack the Grecian states?‡ How could this prophet, who lived so long before the time of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the profanation of that holy place, by setting up an idol therein; and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it? How could he,§ in the first year of the Persian empire, foretel the wars which Alexander's successors would wage with one another in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerity in their treaties, and their alliances by marriage, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs?

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the conclusion which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel; so clear and express, that Porphyry,|| a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them, than by pretending that they were written after the events, and were rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.

* And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion: and his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled. *Dan. xi. 3, 4.*—Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. *Dan. viii. 22.*

† Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia. *Dan. xi. 2.* ‡ Xerxes. § *Dan. xi. 5—45.*

|| S. Hieron. in *Proem. ad. Com. in Dan.*

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between empires of the world and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former every thing appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty, seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror every where, and whom nothing could withstand. But when they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors! How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires as of their founders or governors!

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find that weakness and meanness if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been its striking characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet, in reality, there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The design of his reign is to save mankind; to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who may all of them be so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only that the whole world doth subsist; and when the number of them shall be complete, *Then (says St. Paul)* cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father: when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power.*

Can a writer, who sees in the prophecies of Daniel that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted during the time determined for them by the sovereign Disposer of kingdoms, do all terminate and centre in the empire of Jesus Christ; can a writer, I say, amidst all these profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great divine one, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others.

SECTION III.

The last years of Cyrus. The death of that prince.

Let us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects,† and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian

* 1 Cor. xv. 24.

† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233, &c.

and Euxine seas, on the west by the Ægean sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months of the year at Babylon in the winter-season, because of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring, and two months at Ecbatana during the heat of the summer.

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, for the seventh time after his accession to the whole monarchy; and this shows that he used to go regularly into Persia once a year. Cambyzes had been now dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had elapsed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he enjoyed a vigorous state of health,* which was the fruit of the sober and temperate life which he had constantly led. And whereas they, who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery, often feel all the infirmities of age, even whilst they are young: Cyrus, on the contrary, at a very advanced age, still enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him; and, after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son Cambyzes, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaoxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support of the throne was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches; but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. *I conjure you, therefore, said he, my dear children, in the name of the gods, to respect and love one another, if you mean to retain any desire to please me in future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will not see me after my death. You never saw my soul to this instant: you must have known, however, by its actions, that it really existed. Do you believe, that honours would still be paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my sons, I could never imagine, that the soul only lived whilst in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. But if I mistake, and nothing shall remain of me after death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things, and*

* Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam senilem, senectutem suam imbecillioram factam, quam adolescentia fuerat.—Cic. de Senect. n. 9

whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing or deliberating to do, any thing contrary to religion and justice. Next to them, fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed you upon a great theatre, to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be assured they will augment your glory and power. As to my body, my sons, when life has forsaken it, enclose it neither in gold nor silver, nor in any other matter whatsoever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EARTH. Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated with the benefactress and common mother of human kind? After having given his hand to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death, he added these last words: *Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy: carry my last remembrance to your mother.* A. M. 3475. *ther. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewell, and may you live in peace.* After having said this he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.

The order given by Cyrus to RESTORE HIS BODY TO THE EARTH, is, in my opinion, worthy of observation. He would have thought it disgraced and injured, if enclosed in gold or silver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, says he. Where did that prince learn that it was from thence it derived its original? Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of the human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

Character and Eulogy of Cyrus.

Cyrus may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince mentioned in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art, as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and equal steadiness and prudence for executing, the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes, who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean actions they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable, and even odious, they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they

think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the slightest matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access: and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those who govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantages may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a reason assigned at the same time a command is given, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and good-will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendour and affluence with which they are surrounded. Cyrus was beloved,* because he himself had a love for others: for, has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing is more interesting than to see in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command to tell him whatever they thought.† And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing without asking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make some change in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own: so different was he from the person mentioned by Tacitus,‡ who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself. *Consilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipse non afferret, inimicus.*

Cicero observes,§ that during the whole time of Cyrus's govern

* Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es. *Paneg. Trajan.*

† Plat. l. iii. de Leg. v. 694.

‡ Hist. l. i. c. 25.

§ Lib. i. Epist. 2. ad Q. Sestium.

ment, he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: *Cyru summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.*

What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have been a very great master of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure as that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents, should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this was his steadfast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people;* and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant, indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and to secure to them tranquillity and plenty. He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king,† that a prince ought to consider himself as a shepherd‡ (the image under which both sacred and profane antiquity represented good kings;) and that he ought to have the same vigilance, care, and goodness. *It is his duty, says he, to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to burden himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. This, says he, is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of: but it is still more reasonable that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock.*

Indeed, to be the guardian of the commonwealth, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is, not to belong to themselves: the very characteristic of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be considered as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these derogatory to the dignity of the regal state?

* Cyrop. l. i. p. 27.

† Ib. l. viii. p. 212.

‡ *Thou shalt feed my people*, said God to David. 2 Sam. v. 2.—Ποιμένα λαού, Homer, in many places

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus succeeded in founding such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for many years; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; that after his death he was universally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not to be surprised, that Cyrus was so accomplished in every virtue (it will easily be understood, that I speak only of pagan virtues,) because we know it was God himself, who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, nor that he immediately made him such, as we admire him in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy disposition, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart, at the same time, to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But, above all, he took care, that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellences in Cyrus were owing to the mode in which he was educated, which confounding him, in some sort, with the rest of the subjects, and keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride, which is so natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety; and, in a word, rendered him such as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery.

It must be confessed, that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that Heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation: That all good kings are the gift of God alone, and that such a gift includes many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portrait which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance to that of Cyrus. *Nullum est præstabilius et pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales quàm castus, et sanctus, et Deo simillimus, princeps.**

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, there seems to me to

* Paneg. Traj.

have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly, I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden reverse of fortune. I know, indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter: *Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti; * secundæ res acrioribus stimulis explorant animos*. And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon the soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear up against the burden; whereas prosperity, attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle: *Quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur*.

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul which is animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients, improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views and provides against every thing; and, lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to itself, but is capable of supporting others.

Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himself informs us,† that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident; and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us, at the same time, with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the apprehension of the changes and misfortunes that might happen; and this prudent fear was not only a preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.‡

There remains one point more to be examined, of great importance in appreciating this prince's reputation and character, upon which however I shall touch but slightly; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests: for if these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked only among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to man-

* Tac. Hist. lib. i. c. 15.

† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 234.

‡ Οὐκ εἶα μὲν φρονεῖν, εὖδ' ἐνφρονέουσαι ἐκπαραμέναι.

kind,* who acknowledged no right but that of force; who looked upon the common rules of justice as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions, than their incapacity of carrying them to an equal extent with their wishes; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction, like an inundation or a conflagration: and who reigned as bears and lions would do, if they were masters.†

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes, whom the world admires; and by such ideas as these we ought to correct the impression made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many deceived by false images of grandeur.

I do not know, whether I am not biassed in favour of Cyrus; but he seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertakings; but he certainly revered the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, in which whoever unseasonably engages, renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now every war is of this sort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

Cyrus,‡ as we have seen, at the beginning of the war founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Cræsus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of the Lesser Asia; and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all Upper Asia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggressors.

With good reason therefore is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which cannot be such, unless justice is the basis and foundation of it: *Cyrus à Xenophonte scriptus ad justæ effigiem imperii.*§

* Id in summâ fortunâ æquius quod validius. Et sua retinere, privata domûs: de alienis certare, regiam laudem esse. Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 1.

† Quæ alia vita esset, si leones uraique regnarent? Sen. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 26.

‡ *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 25.

§ *Cic.* l. i. *Epist.* 1 ad Q. fratrem.

SECTION IV.

Wherein Herodotus and Xenophon differ in their accounts of Cyrus

Herodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in what may be considered as the ground-work and most essential part of Cyrus's history, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests; yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

He tells us, as Justin does after him,* that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandane to a Persian of obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyzes. This daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards recognized by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and caused him to feed on the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, defeated him in a battle, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror.† This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle pretended to fly, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drunk largely, and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to see himself a prisoner, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed above 200,000 of their men, together with

* Herod. l. i. c. 107—130. Justin. l. i. c. 4. 6.
l. c. 2.

† Herod. l. i. c. 205—214. Justin.

their king, Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, she flung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words: *Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable.**

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy and first adventures, has much more the air of a romance than of a history. And, as to the manner of his death, what probability is there, that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuscade laid by a woman for him? What the same historian relates concerning his impetuosity and passion,† and his childish revenge upon the river,‡ in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into 360 channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, whose distinguishing characteristic was mildness and moderation. Besides,§ is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardour of his troops in such an unprofitable work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But, what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between his narrative and the Holy Scripture; where we see that, instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes (as Herodotus relates,) those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces, to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence, then, could so great a difference between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us that, even at that time, those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best, for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and readily gave credit to them. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and less credulous; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education and character.

* *Satis te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitisti, ejusque insatiabilis semper fuiti.* *Justin.*
 . l. c. 8.

† Herod. l. i. c. 189.

‡ Gyndes.

§ Sen. l. iii. 3. de Ira, c. 21

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF CAMBYSES

A. M. 3473. **Ant. J. C. 529.** As soon as CambySES ascended the throne,* he resolved to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis: but it is more probable that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.

CambySES,† in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phœnicians furnished him with ships. As for his land army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks, in the service of Amasis, and being in some way or other dissatisfied with that prince, came over to CambySES, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories bordered upon Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during their march through the desert that lay between these two countries: which agreement that prince fulfilled, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which CambySES could never have marched his army that way.

Having made all these preparations,‡ he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. When he arrived upon the frontiers, he was informed that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before CambySES could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a place, that in all likelihood it must have stopped him a great while. But, according to Polyænus, to facilitate the capture of this city, CambySES invented the following stratagem.§ Being informed that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as sacred by that nation; and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison not daring either to sling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of these animals, CambySES became master of the place without opposition.

* Herod. l. iii. c. 1—2.

† Ibid. c. 4—9.

‡ Ibid. l. iii. c. 10.

§ Polyæn. l. vii.

When Cambyses had got possession of the city,* Psammenitus advanced with a great army, to stop his progress; and a fierce battle ensued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks who were in Psammenitus's army, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, and in the presence of the two armies, cut their throats and drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Persians, enraged at so horrid a spectacle, fell upon them with such fury, that they quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greatest part were killed upon the spot. Those that could save themselves escaped to Memphis.

On occasion of this battle,† Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, of which he himself was a witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were still in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from one another. The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that a violent stroke of a stone would hardly break them; and those of the Persians so soft, that they might be pierced through with the greatest ease imaginable. The reason of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accustomed to have their heads shaved, and go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiaras, which is one of their principal ornaments.

Cambyses, having pursued the run-aways to Memphis,‡ sent a herald into the city, in a vessel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to surrender. But the people, transported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were with him. Cambyses, having soon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, causing ten times as many Egyptians, of the highest rank, as there had been persons massacred in the vessel, to be publicly executed. Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself Cambyses was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, endeavoured to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but six months; after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this success, the Libyans, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all sent ambassadors with presents to Cambyses, to make their submission.

From Memphis he went to the city of Sais,§ which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As soon as he entered the palace, he caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of its tomb; and, after having exposed it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire, and to be burnt; which was a

* Herod. l. iii. c. 11.

† Ibid. c. 12.

‡ Ibid. c. 13.

§ Ibid. c. 16.

thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage which this prince testified against the dead body of Amasis, shows, to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives that induced Cambyzes to carry his arms into Egypt.

The next year,* which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved to make war in three different quarters; against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phœnicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to aid him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.

But being determined to invade the other two nations,† he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that character, were to act as spies for him, and to learn the state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were used to make, as purple, golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. These presents amongst which there was nothing useful, or serviceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his ambassadors, whom they took for what they really were, that is, for spies. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing, after his way, to make a present to the king of Persia; and, taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarce lift it, he bent it in presence of the ambassadors, and told them: *This is the present, and the counsel the king of Ethiopia gives the king of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this bigness and strength, with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let them come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops with them than Cambyzes is master of. In the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having put into the hearts of the Ethiopians, a wish to extend their dominions beyond their own country.*

This answer having enraged Cambyzes,‡ he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering, that he neither had provisions nor any thing necessary for such an expedition; but he left the Grecians behind him, in his new conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

As soon as he arrived at Thebes,§ in Upper Egypt, he detached 50,000 of his men against the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was situated there. But after several days' march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed and buried under it.

In the mean time Cambyzes marched forward like a madman against the Ethiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all sorts

* Herod. l. iii. c. 17. 19

† Ibid. c. 20—24.

‡ Ibid. c. 25.

§ Ibid. l. ii. c. 29

of provisions; which quickly caused a terrible famine in his army. He had still time, says Herodotus, to remedy this evil; but Cambyses would have thought it a dishonour to have desisted from his undertaking, and therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees; but coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden. At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity, as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions; a food, says Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself: *Decimum quemque sortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame scævius*.* Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miserable desolation of his army make him sensible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid of his own person, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and the camels were still reserved which were loaded with every thing that was requisite to set out a sumptuous table. *Sempabantur illi interim generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehabantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis malè perirít, quis pejus viveret.*†

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in his expedition, he brought back to Thebes; where he succeeded much better in the war he declared against the gods,‡ whom he found more easy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples whose riches and magnificence were almost incredible. All these Cambyses pillaged, and then set them on fire. The wealth of these temples must have been vastly great, since the very remains saved from the flames amounted to an immense sum, 300 talents of gold, and 2300 talents of silver. He likewise carried away at this time the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king Osymandyas,§ which was 365 cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.

From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he dismissed all the Greeks, and sent them to their respective homes;|| but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, supposing this exultation to be on account of the ill success of his expedition. He therefore called the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these public rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death as impostors that insulted him and his misfortunes. He then sent for the priests, who made him the same answer: upon which he replied, that since their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forth-

* De Ira. l. iii. c. 28.

† Ibid.

‡ Died. Sic. l. i. p. 42.

§ Ibid. p. 46.

|| Herod. l. ii. c. 27—28.

with to be brought to him. But when, instead of a god, he saw a calf, he was strangely astonished, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and run it into the thigh of the beast; and then upbraiding the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute for a god, he ordered them to be severely scourged, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died.

The Egyptians say,* that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyzes grew mad. But his actions showed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: among the rest are these following.

He had a brother,† the only son of Cyrus besides himself, and born of the same mother: his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyzes in his Egyptian expedition: but being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which had been brought from the king of Ethiopia, Cambyzes from hence conceived such a jealousy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after, dreaming that a messenger had arrived to inform him that Smerdis sat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the kingdom, and sent after him into Persia Prexaspes, one of his chief confidants, with orders to put him to death, which were accordingly executed.

This murder was the cause of another still more criminal.‡ Cambyzes had with him in the camp his youngest sister, whose name was Meroe. Herodotus acquaints us after what a strange manner this sister became his wife. As the princess was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyzes absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them whether there was any law that would allow a brother to marry a sister. The judges being unwilling on the one hand directly to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a salvo, and gave him this crafty answer: That they had no law which permitted a brother to marry his sister, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. And this answer serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This princess he carried with him in all his expeditions, and from

* Herod. l. iii. c. 39.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. 31, 32.

her he gave the name of Meroe to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethiopians. The circumstance that gave occasion to his murdering this princess was as follows. One day Cambyses was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog; the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his assistance, and helped him to master the lion. This incident highly delighted Cambyses, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed, that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deserved no better an end.

He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive,* and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaspes, one of his principal officers and his chief confidant, to declare to him what his Persian subjects thought and said of him. *They admire, Sir, says Prexaspes, a great many excellent qualities which they see in you, but they are somewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine.—I understand you,* replied the king; *that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reason. You shall be judge of that immediately.* Upon which he began to drink excessively, pouring it down in larger quantities than ever he had done at any time before. Then ordering Prexaspes's son, who was his chief cup-bearer, to stand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled it at him; and declaring that he aimed at his heart, let fly, and actually shot him in the heart. He then ordered his side to be opened, and showing Prexaspes the heart of his son, which the arrow had pierced, asked him in an exulting and scoffing manner, if he had not a steady hand? The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining after a stroke like this, was so mean-spirited as to reply, *Apollo himself could not have shot better.*

Seneca who copied this story from Herodotus, after having shown his detestation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns still more the cowardly and monstrous flattery of the father: *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est, quam missum.*

When Cræsus took upon him to advise Cambyses against his conduct, which disgusted every one, and laid before him the ill consequences that might result from it, he ordered him to be put to death.† And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he caused them all to be put to death, because they had not obeyed his com-

* Herod. l. iii. c. 34, 35. Sen. l. iii. de Ira. c. 14.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 38.

mands, though at the same time he expressed great joy that Croesus was alive.

It was about this time that Oretes, one of Cambyzes's satrapes, who had the government of Sardis, after a very strange and extraordinary manner brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The story of this Polycrates is of so singular a nature, that the reader will not be displeased if I repeat it here.

This Polycrates was a prince,* who through the whole course of his life had been uniformly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment or unfortunate accident to disturb his felicity. Amasis king of Egypt, his friend and ally, thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. He declared to him, that he had alarming apprehensions concerning his condition; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be suspected; that some malignant, invidious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly sooner or later bring ruin and destruction upon him; that, in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some misfortune to himself, by some voluntary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.

The tyrant followed this advice. Having an emerald ring, which he highly esteemed, particularly for its curious workmanship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers, he threw it into the sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, some fishermen, having caught a fish of an extraordinary size, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fish came to be opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His surprise was very great, and his joy still greater.

When Amasis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He wrote another letter to Polycrates, telling him that, to avoid the mortification of seeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange whimsical notion this! as if friendship was merely a name, or a title, destitute of all substance and reality.

Be that as it will, the thing, however, did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended.† Some years after, about the time Cambyzes fell sick, Oretes, who, as I said before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another satrap had made him in a private quarrel, of his not having yet conquered the Isle of Samos, which lay so near his government, and would be so commodious for his master; upon this resolved at any rate to destroy Polycrates, that he might get possession of the island. The way he took to effect his design was this. He wrote to Polycrates that, in consequence of information upon which he could depend, Cambyzes intended to destroy him by assassination,

* Herod. l. iii. c. 38—42.

† Ibid. 120—125.

he designed to withdraw to Samos, and there to secure his treasure and effects; for which end he was determined to deposit them in the hands of Polycrates, and at the same time make him a present of one half of it, which would enable him to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands, a project he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and passionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not rashly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the truth of the matter, and to that end sent a messenger of his own to Sardis. Oretes had caused eight large chests to be filled with stones almost to the top, but had covered the stones with pieces of gold coin. These chests were packed up, and appeared ready to be sent on board ship: but they were opened before the messenger, on his arrival, and he supposed that they were filled with gold. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends; and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Oretes had him arrested, as an enemy to the state, and as such caused him to be hanged; in such an ignominious and shameful manner did he end a life which had been but one continued series of prosperity and good fortune.

Cambyses,* in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return into Persia. When he came into Syria, he found a herald there, sent from Susa to the army to let them know that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, had been proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in the following manner: Cambyses, at his departure from Susa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patisithes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patisithes had a brother extremely like Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and who perhaps for that reason was called by the same name. As soon as Patisithes was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been concealed from the public, knowing, at the same time, that Cambyses indulged his extravagance to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and immediately despatched heralds into all parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

Cambyses caused the herald,† that came with these orders into Syria, to be arrested; and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he who had usurped the throne, was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon

* Herod. i. iii. c. 61.

† Ibid, c. 63—64.

this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to destroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the usurper. But, as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of his scabbard, and gave him a wound in his thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians remarking that it was the same part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, considered this accident as a just judgment from Heaven, which thus avenged the sacrilegious impiety of Cambyzes.

While he was in Egypt,* having consulted the oracle of Buto, which was famous in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana: understanding this of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria. For the town where he lay sick of this wound, was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana. Of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled all the chief of the Persians together, and representing to them the true state of the case, that it was Smerdis the Magian who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor to suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. The Persians, thinking that he said all this merely out of hatred to his brother, paid no regard to it; but upon his death quietly submitted to him whom they found upon the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.

Cambyzes reigned seven years and five months.† In Scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made an application directly to him, desiring him to hinder the building of the temple; and their application was not in vain. Indeed, he did not revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his memory, but in a great measure frustrated its intent, by the many discouragements under which he laid the Jews; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign.



CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

A. M. 3492. THIS prince is called in Scripture Artaxerxes. He
 Ant. J. C. 522. reigned little more than seven months. As soon as he was set upon the throne, by the death of Cambyzes, the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him,‡ setting forth what a turbulent.

* Herod. l. iii. c. 64—65.

† Ezra, iv. 4. 6.

‡ Ibid. 7—24.

seditions, and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter they obtained an order from the king, prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any farther in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years.

The Magian, sensible how important it was for him, that the imposture should not be discovered, affected, from the very beginning of his reign, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there transact all his affairs by the intervention of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his most intimate confidants to his presence.

And,* the better to secure himself in the possession of the throne he had usurped, he studied from his first accession to gain the affections of his subjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military service for three years; and did so many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by most of the nations of Asia, except the Persians, on the revolution that happened soon afterwards.

But these very precautions which he made use of to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility or the people,† did but make it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among the rest Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma, a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or some other man. She answered that, having never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then by a second message desired her to inquire of Atossa (who could not but know her own brother,) whether this were he or not. Whereupon she informed him that the present king, be he who he might, from the first day of his accession to the throne, had lodged his wives in separate apartments, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he had any ears or not: for Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis, the Magian, to be cut off for some crime, he told her, that if the person she lay with was Smerdis, the Magian, he was unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to, and finding the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word to her father of it, whereby the whole fraud was discovered.

Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five more of the chief Persian nobility;‡ and Darius an illustrious Persian noble-

* Herod. l. iii. c. 67.

† Ibid. c. 69.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 70—72.

man, whose father, Hystaspes, was governor of Persia,* coming very seasonably as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the association, and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great secrecy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered.

While they were concerting their measures,† an extraordinary occurrence, of which they had not the least expectation, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him, that he would publicly declare before the people, who were to be assembled for that purpose, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day, Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had killed with his own hand Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, by Cambyses' order; that the person who now possessed the throne was Smerdis, the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulsion and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is easy to imagine, what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

The conspirators,‡ without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected. For the outer guard, knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not so much as ask them any questions. But when they came near the king's apartment, and found the officers there unwilling to give them admittance, they drew their scimitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their passage. Smerdis, the Magian, and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded some of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himself, but was pursued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark, Darius was afraid to strike, lest at the same time he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that restrained him, obliged him to run his sword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with so much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.

In the same instant,§ with their hands all smeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads of the false Smerdis and his brother Patisithes to the eyes of the public, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this the people grew so enraged, that they fell upon the whole sect to which the usurper belonged, and slew as

* The province so called.
§ Ibid. c. 79.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 74, 75.

‡ Ibid. c. 76-78.

many of them as they could find. For which reason, the day on which this was done, thenceforward became an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called *The slaughter of the Magi*; nor durst any of that sect appear in public upon that festival.

When the tumult and disorder,* inseparable from such an event, were appeased, the lords who had slain the usurper entered into consultation among themselves what sort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy, strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniences to which that form of government was liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man is almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring for a popular government. Megabyzus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had said against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion. *A king*, said he, *at least knows what he does: but the people neither know nor hear any thing, and blindly give themselves up to those that know how to manage them.* He therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wise and experienced persons. Darius, who spoke last, showed the inconvenience of an aristocracy, otherwise called an oligarchy; wherein reign distrust, envy, dissensions, and ambition, the natural sources of faction, sedition, and murder; for which there is usually no other remedy than submitting to the authority of one man; and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the safest, and the most advantageous: inexpressibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations. *In short*, said he, *to determine this point by a fact which to me seems decisive and undeniable, to what form of government is owing the present greatness of the Persian empire? Is it not to that which I am now recommending?* Darius's opinion was embraced by the rest of the lords; and they resolved, that the monarchy should be continued on the same footing whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

The next question was to know, which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election.† This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet the next morning by sun-rising, on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city; and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined, that taking this course, would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made

* Herod. l. iii. c. 80—82.

† Ibid. c. 84—87.

use of the following artifice to secure the crown to his master. The night before, he carried a mare to the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his master's horse. The lords assembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no sooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had smelt the mare, than he fell a neighing; whereupon Darius was saluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes.

The Persian empire being thus restored and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords,* they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges. They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all public affairs were allowed to deliver their opinions the first. And whereas the Persians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backwards, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forwards, because, when they attacked the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confusion. From that time forwards, the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors, honoured with the same privilege.

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire, reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.



CHAPTER IV.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES, AND PERSIANS.

I shall give in this place an account of the manners and customs of all these several nations conjointly, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make frequent repetitions; and, moreover, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these four heads:

- I. Their government.
- II. Their art of war.
- III. Their arts and sciences: and,
- IV. Their religion.

After which I shall narrate the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

* Herod. l. iii. c. 64-67.

ARTICLE I.

Of their government.

After a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these four things: Their public council, where in the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of the provinces; and the good order observed in their finances.

SECTION I.

Their monarchical form of government. The respect they paid their kings. The manner of educating their children.

Monarchical, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most universal, the best adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the least exposed to the revolutions and vicissitudes incident to states. For these reasons the wisest writers among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have been induced to prefer decidedly this form of government to all others. It is likewise the only form, that was ever established among the eastern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne,* because in his person they respected the character of the Deity, whose image and vicegerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the supreme Governor of the world, and invested with his authority and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people. In this manner did the pagans themselves in old times both think and speak: *Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice sua fungatur.*†

These sentiments are very laudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the supreme power; because it cometh from God, and is appointed entirely for the good of the public: besides, it is evident, that an authority which is not respected according to the full extent of its commission, must thereby either become useless, or at least very much limited in the good effects which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganism this honour and homage, though just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the Christian being the only religion that has known how to keep within due bounds in this point. We honour the emperor, said Tertullian in the name of all the Christians:‡ but in such a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him;

* Plin. in Themist. p. 125. Ad Princ. in doc. p. 789.

† Plin. in Paneg. Trag.

‡ *Colimus Imperatorem, sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit; ut hominem à Deo secundum, et quicquid est, à Deo consecratum et solo Deo minorem.* Tertul. L. ad Scap.

that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone. For this reason he calls the emperor in another place a second majesty, inferior to nothing but the first; *Religio secunda majestatis*.*

Among the Assyrians, and more particularly among the Persians, the prince used to be styled, *The great king, the king of kings*. Two reasons might induce those princes to take that ostentatious title. the one, because their empire was formed of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head; the other, because they had several kings, their vassals, either in their court or dependant upon them.

The crown was hereditary among them, descending from father to son, and generally to the eldest.† When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, and all manner of public rejoicings; and his birth-day was thenceforward an annual festival, and day of solemnity for all the Persians.

The manner of educating the future master of the empire is admired by Plato,‡ and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.

He was never wholly committed to the care of a nurse, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition: but from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the household, some of the most approved merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young prince's person and health, till he was seven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as soon as his strength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state, were appointed to be his preceptors. The first, says Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasdes; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second was to accustom him to speak truth, and to administer justice. The third was to teach him not to suffer himself to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be truly a king, and always free, master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify his courage against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those that are born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education assigned to him. One was particularly distinguished for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and justice; this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures; that for a superior strength of mind, and uncommon intrepidity.

* *Apolog.* c. 33.

† *Plat. in Alcib.* c. i. p. 121.

‡ *Ibid.*

I do not know whether such a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view, was well calculated to answer the end proposed; or whether it was possible, that four men should agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person possessed of all the qualities they judged necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the same place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of officers that waited upon him with a servile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seemed to engross all attention; dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation therefore quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the prevailing pleasures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Alcibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue from whence this observation is taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their sons, a good education; and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reason to believe, that he was more attentive than his predecessors to the education of his children; but was not much imitated in that respect by his successors.

SECTION II.

The public council, wherein the affairs of state were considered

Absolute as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet was it, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state; a council, which consisted of seven of the princes or chief lords of the nation, no less distinguished by their wisdom and abilities than by their illustrious birth. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis, the Magian, and killed him.

The Scripture observes, that Ezra was sent into Judea, in the name, and by the authority, of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors: *Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king and of his seven counsellors.**

* Ezra, vii. 14.

The same Scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, that these counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determined any affair of importance, without their advice. *Interrogavit (Assuerus) sapientes, qui ex more regio ei semper aderant, et illorum faciebat cuncta consilio, scientium leges ac jura majorum.**

This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reigned in Persia, and one of the most deserving of praise, on account of his wisdom and prudence: though he had his failings. It is to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascribed, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of advice; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding; by which proceeding he really showed a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and implies a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents and narrow capacity, is generally full of himself; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable he generally is: he thinks it want of respect to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted, if you seem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice: *Illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and how jealous soever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he impaired or degraded it when he instituted that council; for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to govern by the laws; † to make them the rule of his will and desire; and to think nothing allowable for him which they prohibit.

In the third place, this council, which every where accompanied the king (*ex more regio semper ei aderant,*) was a perpetual stand-

* Eccl. i. 12. according to the Vulgate translation.

† Regimur à te, et subiecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus.—*Plin. Paneg. Traj.*

ing council, consisting of the greatest men and the best heads of the kingdom; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of public order, and the principle of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad. To this council the king transferred from himself several weighty cares, with which he must otherwise have been overburdened; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. It was by means of this standing council, that the great maxims of the state were preserved; the knowledge of its true interests perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and oversights prevented. For in a public and general council things are discussed by unsuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in public matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration: because though, as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of business, yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the public, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in Scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were thoroughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom, *scientium leges ac jura majorum*.

Two things, which, as the Scripture informs us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. The first was, their having public registers,* wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours conferred upon particular persons, were entered and recorded. The second was,† the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations established, and services done by any particular persons, were exactly and circumstantially entered. These annals were carefully preserved, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past; might have a clear idea of the state of the kingdom; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain a uniformity in the conduct of affairs; and, in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

SECTION III.

The administration of justice.

To be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest au-

* Ezra, v. 17. and vi. 2.

† Ibid. iv. 15. and Esth. vi. 1.

thority for administering justice. *God hath made you king over his people* (said the queen of Sheba to Solomon,) *to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgment unto them.* God hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. His designs in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for the restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any persons whatsoever.

But what is that justice which God hath intrusted to the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depositaries? Why, it is nothing else but order; and order consists in observing a universal equity, and taking care that force do not usurp the place of law; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another; that the common ties of society be not broken; that artifice and fraud do not prevail over innocence and simplicity; that all things rest in peace under the protection of the laws; and the weakest among the people find sanctuary in the public authority.

We learn from Josephus,* that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. And it was to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public schools, as we have already mentioned in the history of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the same manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary, that the prince be assisted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others; but to be assisted, is not to be deprived, or dispossessed. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not resign or divide it. It is therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of passing sentence with precision, upon important points. For this reason, the kings of Persia never ascended the throne till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science, whereof they were the only masters and professors, as well as of the religion of the country.

Now since to the sovereign alone is committed the right of administering justice, and that within his dominions there is no

* Antiq. Judaïc. l. xi. c. 2.

other power of administering it than what is delegated by him; how greatly does it behove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of so valuable a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne, are worthy to partake of his prerogative; and industriously to keep all such at a distance from it, as he judges unworthy of that privilege! We find that in Persia their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. One of their royal judges,* (for so they called them) having suffered himself to be corrupted by a bribe, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he used to sit and give judgment, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place whence he gave judgment, should remind him continually of his duty.

Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men,† into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years: so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which decided upon the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-citizens.

Amongst them, it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death,‡ nor for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender, as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice: nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. Upon this principle it was that Darius had condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office,§ and afterwards calling to mind the important service he had rendered both to the state and the royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, and acknowledged, that he had pronounced it with more precipitatioⁿ. than wisdom.||

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgments, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without confronting him with his accuser to his face, and without giving him time, and all other means, necessary for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge: and, in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very same punishment upon the accuser, as the other was to have suffered, had he been found guilty. Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions.¶ One of the

* Herod. l. v. c. 25.

† Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 7.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 137.

§ Ibid. l. vii. c. 194.

|| Γινόςκει ταχέστερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἰργασμένος εἶναι, εὐλογοῦσα.

¶ Diod. l. xv. p. 333—336.

king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer; and, to that end, sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great influence he had with his majesty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without farther examination. For such is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light; they make it their business to bar up from the innocent all access to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves. The officer was imprisoned; but he desired of the king, before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king did so, and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that sat upon his trial; and all the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master. The prince, who was well informed, and knew that one of the true signs of a wise government is to have the subjects stand more in fear of the laws than of informers,* would have thought, that to act otherwise than he did, would have been a direct violation of the most common rules of natural equity and humanity; it would have been opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge;† it would have been exposing the honest simplicity of good and faithful subjects to the cruel malice of detestable informers, and arming the latter with the sword of public authority: in a word, it would have been divesting the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, that of being a sanctuary for innocence and justice, against violence and calumny.

There is upon record a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice, in another king of Persia, before Artaxerxes;‡ in him whom the Scripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius, the son of Hystaspes, from whom Haman had, by his earnest solicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him; but, which is more, by a public acknowledgment of his error, which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure to them both the more respect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impose, by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of their princes, whom their

* Non jam delatores, sed leges timentur. *Plin in Paneg. Traj.*

† Princeps, qui delatores non castigat irritat. *Sueton. in vit. Domit. c. ix.*

‡ Esth. iii. &c.

natural sincerity induces to judge favourably of others; he is not ashamed to acknowledge, that he had been so unhappy as to suffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who were his faithful subjects, and the children of the most high God, to whose goodness he and his ancestors were indebted for the throne.

The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shown; but also abhorred lying, which always was deemed amongst them a mean and infamous vice.* What they esteemed most pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, as it tends to make people liars.

SECTION IV.

The care of the provinces.

It seems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is closely inspected; and the very sight of the throne capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanors on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disorder on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care; and, we may also say, with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into 127 governments, the governors whereof were called satrapæ.† Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These satrapæ were, by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together since neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful, unless his people be happy.

These satrapæ being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, Cyrus assigned them certain funds and revenues proportioned to their station and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within

* Herod. l. i. c. 138.

† Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces. *Xenoph. Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 230. 239.

their jurisdiction; and that for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himself was their model in this respect, as he desired they should be likewise to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: so that the same order which reigned in the prince's court, might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the satrapæ, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as possible, all abuses which might be made of so extensive an authority as that of the satrapæ, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and chose that the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other such like officers, should depend immediately upon the prince himself; from whom alone they were to receive their instructions, in order that, if the satrapæ were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible those officers were so many overseers and censors of their conduct. And, to make this correspondence, by letters, the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travelled night and day, and made wonderful despatch. But I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of the section, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

The care of the provinces, however, was not entirely left to the satrapæ and governors: the king himself took cognizance of them in his own person, being persuaded, that the governing only by others, is but to govern by halves. An officer of the household was ordered to repeat these words to the king every morning, when he awakened him: *Rise, Sir, and think of discharging the duties for which Oromasdes has placed you upon the throne.** Oromasdes was the principal god, anciently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, says Plutarch in relating this custom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition: his own heart, and the love he has for his people, are sufficient monitors.

The king of Persia thought himself obliged, according to the ancient custom established in that country, from time to time personally to visit all the provinces of his empire;† being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people see their common father; to reconcile the dissensions and mutual animosities of rival cities;‡ to calm commotions or seditions among the people, and that not so much by the severity of power, as by the authority of reason; to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates; and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed

* Plut. ad Princ. induct. p. 780.

† Xenoph. in Oeconom. p. 838.

‡ Reconciliare semulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis quam ratione compescere, intercedere iniquitatibus magistratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit; postremò velocissimi sideris more omnia invisere, omnia audire, et undecumque invocatum, statim, velut numen, adesse et adistere. Plin. in Panegy. Traj.

against law and equity: in a word, like a beneficent planet, to shed his salutary influences universally, or rather, like a kind of divinity, to be present every where, to see, to hear, and inspect every thing, without rejecting any man's petition or complaint.

When the king was not able to visit the provinces himself, he sent, in his stead, some of the great men of the kingdom, such as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of every thing. When these, or any other of his great ministers, or the members of his council, were said to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king, when he went his progress in person, or the commissioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration; and shows how well they understood, in those days, wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. The attention of the king and his ministers was not employed upon great objects alone, as war, the revenue, justice, and commerce; but in matters of less importance, as the security and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the repairs of high roads, bridges, causeways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and, above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting all sorts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; every thing, in short, came within the sphere of their policy, and was thought to deserve their care and inspection. And, indeed, whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonweal is universal. It extends itself to all matters, and takes in every thing:* it is the support of private persons, as well as of the public. Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attentions and regard.

I have already said,† that agriculture was one of the principal objects on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's first cares was, to make husbandry flourish; and those satrapæ, whose provinces were the best cultivated, had the most of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government; so were there

* *Id. cui curæ sunt universæ, nullam non reip. partem tanquam sui nutrit.* Senec. *M. de Clem. c. xiii*
 † *Xenoph. Oecon. p. 837-830.*

likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and economy. For these two employments had a near relation; the business of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both, almost with the same degree of affection; because both concurred, and were equally necessary, for the public good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and security; so neither can the soldiers, on the other hand, be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen who cultivate the ground. It was with good reason, therefore, that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into every thing, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and district was cultivated; that he might know, whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, as to inform himself, whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the superintendents and overseers, whose provinces or districts were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons, who suffered their grounds to lie barren or untilled. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry amongst his subjects, which is the surest means of preventing that increase of drones and idle fellows, that are such a burden upon the public, and a dishonour to the state.

Xenophon,* in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as the employment of all others the most worthy man, the most ancient, and the most suitable to his nature; as the most common nurse of all ages and conditions of life; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion; and, in a word, of all kinds of virtues both civil and military. After which he relates the fine saying of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth, that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, exclaimed, that the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune; and who, in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendour, and magnificence, had yet preserved a taste so pure and yet so conformable to right reason. *Cum Cyrus respondisset.† Ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, nullas etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satæ: tum Lysandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, et nilorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse:‡ RECTE*

* Xenoph. Oecon. p. 830—833.

† Cic. de sen. ect. num. 59.

‡ In the original Greek there is still a greater energy. *Διναλαί μοι δοναί, ὡς Κόρε,*

VERO TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUE FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST. How much it is to be wished, that our young nobility, who in the time of peace do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which surely, after such an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality; especially if they would consider, that for several ages it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike people in the world! The reader may easily perceive, that I mean the ancient Romans.

The Invention of Posts and Couriers.

I promised to give some account in this place of the invention of posts and couriers. This invention is ascribed to Cyrus;* nor, indeed, can I find any mention of such an establishment before his time. As the Persian empire, after his last conquest, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required that all his governors of provinces, and his chief commanders of his troops, should write to him, and give an exact account of every thing that passed in their several districts and armies; in order to render that correspondence the more sure and expeditious, and to enable himself to receive speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and to send his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed, in every province. Having computed how far a good horse with a brisk rider, could go in a day without being spoiled, he had stables built in proportion, at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of them. At each of these places he likewise appointed a post-master, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that had performed their stage, and to find fresh ones. Thus the post went continually night and day, with extraordinary speed: nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the season, interrupt its progress. Herodotus speaks of the same sort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.†

These couriers were called in the Persian language, Ἀγγαροί.‡ The superintendency of the posts became a considerable employment. Darius,§ the last of the Persian kings, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon takes notice, that this establishment subsisted still in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related

σὺ δὲ μὲν εἶπας ἀγαθὸς γὰρ εἰς ἀνὰ σὺ δὲ μὲν εἶπας. Thou art worthy, Cyrus, of that happiness thou art possessed of; because with all thy affluence and prosperity, thou art also virtuous.

* Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239. † Her. l. viii. c. 98.

‡ Ἀγγαροί is derived from a word which, in that language, signifies a service rendered by compulsion. It is from thence the Greeks borrowed their verb ἀγγαρεύω, compellere, cogere: and the Latins, angariare. According to Suidas they were likewise called αἰστανεῖς.

§ Plat. l. i. de fortun. Alex. p. 326. et in vit. Alex. p. 674. ubi. pro. Ἀγγαροί, legendum Ἀστανεῖς.

in the Book of Esther, concerning the edict published by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews; which edict was carried through that vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts erected by Cyrus.

We are justly surprised to find, that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the east by Cyrus, and continued so many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering of what usefulness it was to the government, should never have been imitated in the west, particularly by people so expert in politics as the Greeks and the Romans.

It is more astonishing, that where this invention was put in execution, it was not farther improved, and that the use of it was confined only to affairs of state, without considering the many advantages the public might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the business of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds; by forwarding the affairs of private persons; the despatch of journeys which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the safety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. It is well known what difficulty people at a distance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of any affairs together; being obliged either to send a servant on purpose, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time; or to wait for the departure of some other person, that was going into the province or country, whither they had letters to send; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents, and delays.

At present we enjoy this general conveniency at a small expense; but we do not thoroughly consider the advantages of it: the want whereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing here: I hope the reader will excuse the digression. The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all provinces, and even from the neighbouring kingdoms, did, for their sakes and conveniency, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring clothes, silver, and gold for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inquests, to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet; as also to carry letters, parcels, and packets for the public, as well as the university.

In the university registers of the Four Nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers are often styled *Nuntii volantes*, to signify the great speed and despatch they were obliged to make.

The state, then, is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these messengers and letter carriers. And it was at her own charge and expense that she erected these offices; to the satisfaction both of our kings and the public. She

has moreover maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never were any ordinary royal messengers, till Henry III. first established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

The university never had any other fund or support than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue, that king Louis XV., now on the throne, by his decree of the council of state, on the 14th of April 1719, and by his letters patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament, and in the chamber of accounts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the said university the students shall be taught gratis; and has, to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eighth-and-twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France; which eighth-and-twentieth part amounted that year to the sum of 184,000 livres or thereabouts.*

* It is not therefore without reason, that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her ancient lustre, reckons Louis XV. as a kind of new founder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble, disinterested spirit which becomes it. And, indeed, the labour of masters and professors, who instruct others, ought not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be sold. *Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.*†

SECTION V.

Administration of the revenues.

The prince is the sword and buckler of the state; by him are the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But to enable him to defend it, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortified towns, and ships; and all these things require great expenses. It is moreover just and reasonable, that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of the empire; as also to enable him to insure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and imposition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the necessity of defraying the expenses of the state, have been the first causes of these burdens, so ought they likewise to be the constant standard of their use. Nor is

* About 8,500*l.* sterling

† Quintil. l. xii. c. 7.

there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than such impositions; since every private person ought to think himself very happy, that he can purchase his peace and security at the expense of so slender a contribution.

The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in the levying of taxes imposed upon the people,* and partly in their being furnished with several products of the earth in kind; as corn, and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. Strabo relates, that the satrap of Armenia sent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, 20,000 young colts.† By this we may form a judgment of the other levies in the several provinces. The tributes, however, were only exacted from the conquered nations: for the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and of determining the sums each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius; at which time, the pecuniary impositions, as near as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to near 44,000,000 French money.‡

The place wherein was kept the public treasure, was called in the Persian language *Gaza*.§ There were treasures of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Pasargada, at Damascus, and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money chiefly used by the Persians, was of gold, and called *Darick*, from the name of Darius,|| who first caused them to be coined, with his image on one side, and an archer on the reverse. The *Darick* is sometimes also called *Stater aureus*, because the weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of silver, and consequently were worth ten livres of French money.

Besides these tributes which were paid in money,¶ there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing victuals and provisions for the king's table and household, grain, forage, and other necessities for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for the remounting of his cavalry. This contribution was imposed upon the six-score satrapies, or provinces, each of them furnishing such a part as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, did alone furnish the whole contribution for the space of four months, and consequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole imposition, whilst all the rest of Asia together did but contribute the other two-thirds.

By what has been already said on this subject, we see the kings

* Herod. l. iii. c. 89—97.

† Lib. xi. p. 530.

‡ About 2,000,000 sterling.

§ Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 19.

|| Darius the Mede, otherwise called Cyaxares, is supposed to have been the first who caused this money to be coined.

¶ Herod. l. iii. c. 91—97; and l. i. c. 192.

of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy a part of them in money, and to take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded; which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt they had observed how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money, without suffering great losses; whereas nothing can tend so much to render the taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation and trouble as well as expense, as the taking in payment from each country such fruits and commodities as that country produces; by which means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

There* were likewise certain districts assigned and set apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments; and these districts, which were of a great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in a day, these districts, I say, took their names from their particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called, one the queen's girdle, another the queen's veil, and so on. In Plato's time, the same custom continued among the Persians.

The manner in which the king gave pensions in those days fit such persons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what most have observed concerning the queen.† We read, that the king in his Persia assigned the revenues of four cities to Themistocles, the first of which was to supply him with wine, another with bread, third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothing and furniture. Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the same manner towards Pytharchus of Cyzicus,‡ for whom he had a particular respect to consideration, and to whom he gave the revenue of seven cities before following times, we find many instances of a like nature.

ARTICLE II.

Of their war.

The people of Asia in general were naturally of a soft disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they became so, which they owed to be enervated by luxury and pleasure. Though all men of except the Persians, who even before Cyrus, and even in his reign, had the reputation of being a people of great valour and service if other genius. The situation of their country, which was very hot, and doubled mountainous, might be one reason of their hardness, by enabling them of living; which is a point of no little importance to good soldiers. But the good education which they received, and the stronger, that

* Plat. in Alcib. l. p. 193.

† Plat. l.

p. l. vi. p. 153.

their youth, was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

With respect therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in the following account of military affairs, whatever perfection and excellence may be found in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Persians, as they were in Cyrus's reign; the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be shown in the sequel.

I. *Their Entrance upon Military Discipline.*

The Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises.* Generally speaking, they served in the armies from the age of twenty to fifty years. And whether in peace or war, they always wore swords, as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to enlist themselves at the same age appointed; and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be discharged with in that respect, as will be seen hereafter, by the cruel penalty given by Darius and Xerxes to two young noblemen, whose fathers had desired as a favour, that their sons might be permitted to stay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.† side, and lotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, who were called *The immortals*, because this body consisted of the same number, which was 10,000; for as soon as a drachman of men died, another was immediately put into his place. French establishment of this body probably began with the 10,000 appointed for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their courage. Quintus Curtius mentions two this body of men,‡ and another body besides, consisting of 15,000, designed in like manner to be a guard to the king's person: the latter were called *Doryphori*, or *Spearmen*.

of Babylon, the whole con-

II. *Their Armour.*

quently bore arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scimitar, whilst all the rest called in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in two-thirds. right side; a javelin, or half pike, having a sharp- By what has been said.

they carried two javelins, or lances, one to fling, use in close fight. They made great use of the

* Herod. l. iii. c. 89.

† Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 12.

‡ Darius the Mede, of

caused this money to be.

Am. Mar. l. xxiii. sub finem.

§ Herod. l. vii. c. 89.

† Herod. l. iv. and vi. Sen.

‡ Lib. iii. c. 3.

bow, and of the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown amongst them; but they did not set much value upon it.

It appears from several passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they call *tiaras*; this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger, and of his army.* And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we must conclude, that this custom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the most part wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or greaves which covered the arms, thighs, and legs of the horsemen. Their horses themselves, for the most part, had their faces, chests, and flanks covered with brass. These were what are called *equi cataphracti*, barbed horses.

Authors differ very much about the form and fashion of the shields. At first they made use of very small and light ones, made only of twigs of osier, *gerra*. But it appears from several passages, that they had also shields of brass, which were of a great length.

We have already observed, that in the first ages the light-armed soldiers, that is, the archers and those who used missile weapons, composed the bulk of the armies amongst the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience, that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or fighting at a distance, and who thought it most advantageous to come directly to close fight, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

III. Chariots armed with Scythes.

Cyrus introduced a considerable change likewise with respect to the chariots of war.† These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the sacred writings. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast, with two men in each; one of distinguished birth and valour, who fought, and another who was engaged only in driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service; since for the equipping of 300 chariots, were required 1200 horses, and 600 men, of which there were but 300 who really fought, the other 300, though all men of merit and distinction, and capable of doing great service if otherwise employed, serving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting men that rode in them, by enabling the drivers also to fight as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger, that

* Xen. de Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263.

† Xen. Cyrop. l. vi. p. 132.

they should not be so easily broken; and the axletrees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axletree he caused scythes to be fastened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally; and caused other scythes to be fixed under the same axletree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men, or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots should overturn. It appears from several passages in authors,* that in after-times, besides all this, they added two long iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with several rows of sharp knives to hinder any one from mounting behind.

These chariots were in use for many ages in all the Eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain cause of the victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all other to strike the enemy with consternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the inconveniences of them were discovered, and at length they were laid aside. For, in order to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in vast and extensive plains, where the soil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gulleys, woods, nor vineyards.

In after-times several methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless. It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle which Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of slingers, archers, and spearmen, who, spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances upon them, and at the same time fall a shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses, and often made them turn upon their own forces. At other times they would render the chariots useless and incapable of acting,† only by marching over the space, which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary swiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuosity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and insignificant. It was after this manner, that the Romans under Sylla,‡ at the battle of Chæronæ, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots, raising loud peals of laughter, and crying out to them, as if they had been at the games of the Circus, to send more.

IV. *Their Discipline in Peace as well as War.*

Nothing can be imagined more perfect than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

* Liv. l. xxxvii. a. 41.

† Ibid.

‡ Plut. in Syl. p. 463.

The method used by that great prince in peace, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops, by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue by keeping them continually employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battles by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises, and rewards: all this, I say, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally speaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious; for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies, infinitely sharpen and excite. A wise foresight of the future ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever may be needful in time of war.*

Whenever the Persian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness as on a day of battle: not a soldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom amongst all the nations of Asia, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches;† though sometimes they fortified them with strong pallisadoes, and long stakes driven into the ground.

By what has been said of their discipline in time of peace, and in the marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of that which was preserved on a day of battle. Nothing can be more deserving our admiration than the accounts we have of it in the several parts of the *Cyropædia*. No single family could be better regulated, or pay a more speedy and exact obedience to the first signal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience, on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity, which is necessary in the beginning, in order to establish good discipline; but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their leader,‡ who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his injunctions, and softened the rigour of his commands. The unalterable rule he laid down to himself, of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing every thing to favour, was a sure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. For there is nothing

*——Metuensque futuri,

In pace, ut sapiens, aptârit idonea bello. *Hor. Satyr. ii. l. 2.*

† *Ibid. l. i. p. 24, 25.*

‡ Dux, cultu levi, capite instructo, in agmine, laboribus frequens adesse: laudem strenuâ, se latium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere. *Theist. Annal. l. xiii. cap. 35*

more discouraging to persons of that profession,* even to those who love their prince and their country, than to see the rewards, to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle them, conferred upon others. Cyrus had the art of inspiring even his common soldiers with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and, above all, by endearing himself to them by his bounty and liberality. These are the true and only methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in its full force and vigour.

V. *Their Order of Battle.*

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little else but field expeditions; for which reason that wise prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to decide a victory, than a numerous and good cavalry; and the gaining of one single pitched battle was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we see, that having found the Persian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary succour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying that defect; and, by his great application and activity, succeeded in forming a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness, at least, if not in number. There were several breeds of horses in Persia and Media;† but in the latter province, those of a place called Nisea, were the most esteemed; and it was from thence the king's stable was furnished. We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbra, may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to show how far their ability extended either in the use of arms, or the disposition of armies.

They knew that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act and extend themselves as occasion should require.

They likewise understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise, as one single line might easily be pierced through and broken; it would not be able to rally, and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason they formed the first line of foot heavily armed, twelve men deep,‡ who, on the first onset,

* *Cecidisse in irritum labores, si præmia periculorum soli assequantur, qui pericula non affuerunt.* Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 53.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 49. Strab. l. xi. p. 539.

‡ Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty-four men.

made use of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy body to body with their swords or scimitars.

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to fling their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were flung with great violence. The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before they came to close fight.

The third line consisted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes mixed with slingers, who slung great stones with a terrible force, but, in after-time, the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men armed in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if they should happen to penetrate so far.

They had besides moving towers, carried upon huge wagons, drawn by sixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose business was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army behind the body of reserve, and served to support their troops, when they were driven back by the enemy, and to favour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use too of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them they occasionally stationed on the flanks of the army, when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

This is nearly the extent to which the ancients carried their knowledge in the military art, with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any skill in choosing advantageous posts, in seasonably possessing themselves of a favourable spot, of bringing the war into a close country; of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the army in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; or laying in artful ambuscades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see, that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marshes, or mountains; and by that means of making the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous; and of putting it out of the enemy's power to surround or take them in flank.

Yet in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, there seem to have been some beginnings, some essays, as it were, of this art: but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reflection, and experience, made the great commanders in after ages acquainted with these precautions and subtleties of war: and we have already shown, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations, made of them.

VI. Their Manner of Attacking and Defending strong Places.

The ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as also from the force and variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

1. Their Way of Attacking Places.

The first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and places of arms; or else they thought it sufficient to surround it completely by a deep trench, which they strongly fenced with pallasadoes, to hinder the besieged from making a sally, as well as to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related in ancient history; as that of Troy, which lasted ten years;* that of Azotus by Psammeticus, which lasted twenty-nine; that of Nineveh, where we have seen that Sardanapalus defended himself for the space of seven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had laid in a stock of provisions for twenty years, if he had not used a different method for taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by raising a great number of ladders against the walls, by means whereof a great many files of soldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made the walls of their city extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of the ramparts; and this was by building moving towers of wood, still higher than the walls, and by approaching them with those wooden towers. On the top of these towers, which formed a kind

* Homer makes no mention of the battering ram, or any warlike engine.

of platform, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who, with darts, and arrows, and the assistance of their balistæ and catapultæ, scoured the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then from a lower stage of the tower, they let down a kind of drawbridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it; which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. Of these there were several kinds.

They had still a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways; that is, either by carrying on a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and so opening themselves a passage into it; or else, after they had sapped the foundation of the wall, and put supporters under it, by filling the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then setting that matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

2. Their Manner of Defending Places.

With respect to the fortifying and defending of towns, the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules now practised in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made deep and sloping ditches, and fenced them round with pallisadoes, to make the enemy's ascent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone or brick work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derive their origin, for the flanking of the curtains; they invented with much ingenuity different machines for the shooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great stones with vast force and violence; they had their parapets and battlements in the walls for the soldiers' security, and their covered galleries, which went quite round the walls, and served as casements; their intrenchments behind the breaches and necks of the towers; they made their sallies too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set their engines on fire as also their countermines to render useless the mines of the enemy; and lastly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in cases of extremity, to serve as the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these

methods of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification as it was practised among the ancients; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns; as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gunpowder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram; and musket-shot in the room of balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed? By no means. The ancients made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. *The Condition of the Persian forces after Cyrus's time.*

I have already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all times, by what we see of them in Cyrus's reign. I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Boasuet, bishop of Meaux, on that subject. He observes that, after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages that result from severity, discipline, skill in drawing up an army, order in marching and encamping; and, in short, that happiness of conduct, which puts those great bodies in motion without disorder or confusion. Full of vain ostentation of their power and greatness, and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution enough, but without order, and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons, who formed the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such a height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasures and delights in the army, as in the king's court; so that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils so voluptuous a life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, was overburthened with the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert; their orders never reached

them in time; and in action every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's being able to remedy this disorder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things also as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed every thing that could be met with in a very short time; nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

However, with all this vast train, the Persians astonished the nations that were not better acquainted with military affairs than themselves; and many of those that were more expert, were yet overcome by them, being either weakened by their own dissensions, or overpowered by the numbers of the enemy. And by this means Egypt, proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of Sesostria, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the lesser Asia, and even such Greek colonies as the luxury of Asia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active, by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies indeed were but small; but they were like strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part; at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul; so perfect a harmony was there in all their motions.

ARTICLE III.

Arts and sciences.

I do not pretend to give an account of the Eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Testament. Those precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poesy; its true design; the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections and sing the wonderful works of God, as also the dignity and sublimity of style which ought to accompany it, adapted to the majesty of the subjects on which it treats. The discourses of Job's friends, who lived in the East, as he himself did, and who were distinguished among the Gentiles as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of the eloquence that prevailed in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priests said of the Greeks in general and of

the Athenians in particular, according to Plato,* that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respect to arts and sciences, the invention of which they have falsely ascribed to chimerical persons, much posterior to the deluge. The Holy Scripture informs us,† that before that epocha, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of spinning wool and flax, and weaving it into stuffs and linen; of forging and polishing iron and brass, and rendering them subservient to numberless uses that are necessary and convenient for life and society.

We learn from the same Scriptures, that very soon after the deluge, human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of spinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it gilding wood and other materials. 3. The secret of casting metals; as brass, silver, or gold; and of making all sorts of figures with them, in imitation of nature; of representing any kind of different objects; and of making an infinite variety of vessels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, stone, or marble: and, 5. to name no more, that of dyeing their silks and stuffs, and giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Asia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the cradle, as it were, of arts and sciences, the remembrance of which had been preserved by tradition; and which were afterwards revived again, and restored by means of men's wants and necessities.

SECTION I. *Architecture.*

The building of the tower of Babel, and shortly after, of those famous cities Babylon and Nineveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of the palaces of the kings and noblemen, divided into sundry halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or conveniency could require; the regularity and symmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, raised and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers; the convenience of their quays on the banks of the great rivers; and the boldness of the bridges thrown over them: all these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature, show to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in those ancient times.

I know not, however, whether in those ages this art rose to that degree of perfection, which it afterwards attained in Greece and

* In Timæo, p. 22.

† Gen. iv.

Italy; or whether those vast structures in Asia and Egypt, so much boasted of by the ancients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and extent. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite; but we never hear of an Asiatic or Egyptian order; which gives us reason to doubt whether the symmetry, measures, and proportions of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those ancient structures.

SECTION II. *Music.*

It is no wonder, if, in a country like Asia, addicted to pleasure, to luxury, and to voluptuousness, music, which gives the chief zest to such enjoyments, was in high esteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal styles of ancient music, which the modern has still preserved, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin; or at least, where it was improved and brought to perfection. We learn from Holy Scripture,* that in Laban's time instrumental music was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; since, among the other reproaches he makes to his son-in-law Jacob, he complains, that, by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family *with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp*. Amongst the booty that Cyrus ordered to be set apart for his uncle Cyaxares,† mention is made of two female musicians,‡ very skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Susa, and were taken prisoners with her.

To determine to what degree of perfection music was carried by the ancients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, because, to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several pieces of music composed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our ears. But, unhappily, it is not with music in this respect as with ancient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whereas, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgment, and determine whether the music of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed, that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

It is also agreed, that they excelled in what relates to the *rhythmus*. What is meant by rhythmus, is the assemblage or union of various times in music, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition, it

* Gen xxxi. 27. † Cyrop. l. iv. p. 113. ‡ Μουσουργοὶ δύο τὰς ἡμετέρας

is to be observed, that the music we are here speaking of was always set and sung to the words of certain verses, in which the syllables were distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckoned to make up but one time, whilst the latter made up two; and consequently the sound which answered to this, was to continue twice as long as the sound which answered to the other; or, which is the same thing, it was to consist of two times, or measures, whilst the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung consisted of a certain number of feet formed by the different combination of these long and short syllables; and that the rhythmus of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of what nature or extent soever, were always divided into equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called *âger*, elevation or raising; and the latter *bleu*, depression or falling: so the rhythmus of the song, which answered to every one of those feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally, by what we now call a *beat*, and a rest or intermission. The scrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their syllables in their vocal music, made their rhythmus much more perfect than ours: for our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables; but nevertheless a skilful musician amongst us, may in some sort express, by the length, of their sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the rhythmus of the ancients I have copied from one of the dissertations of Monsieur Burette; which I have done for the benefit of young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in ancient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned, concerning the music of the ancients, is to know whether they understood music in several parts, that is, a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a complete piece, and at the same time have an harmonious connexion, as in our counter-point whether simple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the music of the ancients, I refer him to the learned dissertations of the above-mentioned M. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy des Belles Lettres*; which show the profound erudition and exquisite taste of that writer.

SECTION III. *Physic.*

We likewise discover in those early times the origin of physic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and imperfect. Herodotus,* and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians to expose their

* Herod. l. i. c. 197. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 746.

sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn of them, whether they had been afflicted with the same distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence several people have pretended that physic is nothing else but a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed, that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great use of it in his practice, but he did not entirely rely upon it. The custom in those days* was, for all persons that had been sick, and were cured, to put up a tablet in the temple of *Æsculapius*, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to their health. That celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, and derived great advantage from them.

Physic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem.† *Æsculapius*, who flourished at that time, is reckoned the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations; for in those days these several branches were not separated from one another, but were all included together under one profession.

The two sons of *Æsculapius*,‡ *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, who commanded a certain number of troops at the siege of Troy, were no less excellent physicians than brave officers; and rendered as much service to the Grecian army by their skill in medicine, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. Nor did *Achilles* himself,§ nor even *Alexander the Great*, in after times, think the knowledge of this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary, he learned it himself of *Chiron*, the centaur, and afterwards instructed his friend *Patroclus* in it, who did not disdain to exercise the art, in healing the wound of *Eurypylos*. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately assuaged the pain and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times. *Virgil*, speaking of a celebrated physician,|| who was instructed in his art by *Apollo* himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples: *Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi maluit*. It was nature herself that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use of them. Their gardens,¶ fields, and woods, supplied them gratuitously with an infinite plenty and variety. As yet no use was made of minerals**, treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more inquisitive researches into nature.

* *Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.* *Strab. l. viii. p. 374.*
l. x. v. 831—847. § *Plut. in Alex. p. 668.*
xxvi. c. 1. ** *Id. l. xxiv. c. 1.*

† *Diod. l. v. p. 341.*
 ‡ *Æn. l. xii. v. 396.*

§ *Hom. Iliad.*
 ¶ *Plin. l.*

Pliny says,* that physic, which had been brought by *Æsculapius* into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour and credit. This may be true with respect to Greece; but in Persia we find it to have been always cultivated, and consequently held in great reputation. The great Cyrus,† as is observed by Xenophon, never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard. He farther remarks, that in this, Cyrus only followed a custom that had been anciently established among their generals: and he also informs us, that the younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.‡

It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates, who carried this science to its highest perfection. And though it be certain that several improvements and new discoveries have been made since his time, yet is he still looked upon by the ablest physicians, as the first and chief master of that art, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those that would distinguish themselves in that profession.

Men thus qualified, who, to the study of the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, as also to the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of simples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have added a long practice and experience, together with their own serious reflections; such men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and distinguished, as the Holy Spirit itself signifies to us in the sacred writings: *The skill of the physician shall lift up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration*;§ since all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings, are devoted to the people's health, which of all human blessings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this blessing is what mankind are the least careful to preserve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but through a blind credulity they foolishly intrust it with persons of no credit or experience,|| who impose upon them by their impudence and presumption, or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.

SECTION IV. *Astronomy.*

However desirous the Grecians were to be esteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of

* Lib. xxix. c. 9.

† Cyrop. l. i. p. 29, and l. viii. p. 212.

‡ De exped. Cyz.

§ Ecclus. xxxviii. 3.

|| Palam est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illud vitæ nostræ ne cique fieri—Aded blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulce do. Phil. l. xix. c. 1.

astronomy. The advantageous situation of Babylon,* which was built upon a wide extensive plain, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people to a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies, and the regular course of the stars. The Abbé Renaudot,† in his dissertation upon the sphere, observes, that the plain which in Scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same as is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Ahmamon, the seventh of the Habbassides in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe; and that the sultan Gelaeddin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caused similar observations to be made near 300 years afterwards in the same place: from whence it appears, that this place was always reckoned one of the properest in the world for astronomical observations.

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of the help of telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astronomical researches more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a grave and credible author, according to Pliny, speaks of observations made for the space of 720 years,‡ and imprinted upon squares of brick; which, if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity. Those of which Callisthenes,§ a philosopher in Alexander's train, makes mention, and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknowledge, to the labours and curious inquiries of those who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant, and uniform proportion of days, months, seasons, and years, but even to religion itself; with which, as Plato shows,|| the study of that science has a very close and necessary connexion; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the Deity, who, with infinite wisdom, presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions. But at the same time we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those

* Principio Assyrii propter plantitiem magnitudine mque regionum quas incolebant, cœlum ex omni parte patens et apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt. Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 2.

† Memoirs of the Academy des Belles Lettres, vol. 1. part ii. page 3.

‡ Plin. hist. nat. l. vii. c. 56.

§ Porphyry. apud. Simplic. in l. ii. de celo.

|| In Epinom. p. 989—992.

very philosophers, who, although by their successful application and astronomical inquiries,* they came very near the Creator, were yet so unhappy as not to find him, because they did not serve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

SECTION V. *Judicial Astrology.*

As to the Babylonian and other Eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the knowledge of Him who is both their Creator and Ruler, that for the most part it carried them into impiety, and the extravagances of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and presumptuous science, which teaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the stars, and to foretell events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects; a science justly looked upon as madness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. *O delirationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero,† in refuting the extravagant opinions of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that first gave rise to this science; who, in consequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events, for the space only of 470,000 years, pretended to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets at the instant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the constitution of his body, his actions, and, in a word, all the events and the duration of his life. He exposes a thousand absurdities of this opinion, the very ridiculousness of which should excite contempt; and asks, why of all that vast number of children that are born in the same moment, and without doubt exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two whose lives and fortunes resemble each other? He puts this farther question, whether that great number of men that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the same constellations?

It is hardly credible, that so absurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and imposture, *fraudentissima artium*, as Pliny calls it,‡ should ever acquire so much credit as this has done, throughout the whole world, and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into so great vogue, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them: *Nullo non avido futura de se sciendi*; attended with a superstitious credulity, which finds itself agreeably flattered by the pleasing and magnificent promises of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. *Ita blandissimis desideratissimis-*

* *Magna industria, magna solertia: sed ibi Creatorem scrutati sunt positum, non longe à eo, et non invenerunt—quia quærere neglexerunt.* *August. de verb. Eben. Matth. Sermon. lxxviii. c. 1.*

† *Lib. ii. de Div. n. 87. 99.*

‡ *Plin. Proem. lib. xxx.*

que promissis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus.

Modern writers,* and among others two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendi and Rohault, have inveighed against the folly of that pretended science with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principles and experience.

As for its principles. The heaven, according to the system of astrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts; which parts are taken not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiac. These twelve parts or portions of heaven, have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, and so of the rest: the most important and decisive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to ascend and appear above the horizon, when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed: the aspects of these planets, which are only certain distances from one another, are likewise either happy or unhappy. I say nothing of several other hypotheses, which are all equally fanciful; and I ask, whether any man of common sense can accede to them upon the bare word of these impostors, without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of pregnancy? Or is it possible, considering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be sure of hitting the precise, determinate moment, without the least variation of more or less, which is sufficient to overthrow all? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter themselves with having that on their side. This can only consist in observations founded upon events that have always come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were found in the same situation. Now it is unanimously agreed by all astronomers, that several thousands of years must pass, before any such situation of the stars as they would imagine, can twice happen: and it is very certain, that the state in which the heavens will be to-morrow, has never yet been since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers above-mentioned, particularly Gassendi, who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure of judicial astrology is built.

But what is astonishing, and argues an absolute subversion of all reason is, that certain freethinkers, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convincing proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the

* Gassendi Phys. sect. v. l. 6. Rohault Phys. part. ii. ch. 77.

word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of these astrologers and impostors.

St. Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us, that this stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a just chastisement from God,* who frequently punisheth the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness; and who suffers evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still faster in their nets, sometimes to foretell things which do really come to pass, but of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them, does often in Scripture† laugh to scorn the ignorance of the so-much-boasted Babylonish astrologers, calling them forgers of lies and falsehoods. He moreover defies all their false gods to foretell any thing whatsoever, and consents if they do, that they should be worshipped as gods. Then addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries with which she shall be overwhelmed above 200 years after that prediction; while none of her prognosticators, who had flattered her with the assurances of her perpetual grandeur, which they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment. Indeed, how should they? since at the very time of its execution, when Belshazzar,‡ the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, the Chaldeans, the soothsayers, and, in a word, all the pretended sages of the country, were not able so much as to read the writing. Here then we see astrology and magic convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were most in vogue, and on an occasion when it was certainly their interest to display all their science and power.

ARTICLE IV.

Religion.

The most ancient and general idolatry in the world, was that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitude; which, instead of

* *Hic omnibus consideratis, non immerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus fatis inserere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliqua arte, quae nulla est. De Civ. Dei. l. v. c. 7.*

† Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off; and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble: the fire shall burn them: they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame. Isa. xlvii. 11—14.

‡ Dan v

ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil which concealed him, while it indicated his existence. With the least reflection or penetration they might have discerned the Sovereign who commanded, from the minister* who did but obey.

In all ages mankind have been sensibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man: and adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's desires and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the sun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their hands upon their mouths,† and then lifting them up to those false gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the east, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved: *When I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; my heart hath not been secretly enticed, nor my mouth kissed my hand.*‡

The Persians adored the sun,§ and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have seen in Cyrus's stately cavalcade. (This same ceremony was practised by the Babylonians; from whom some impious kings of Judah borrowed it,|| and brought it into Palestine.) Sometimes they likewise sacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known amongst them by the name of Mithra.

By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire,¶ always invoked it first in their sacrifices,** carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches; intrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if it had been suffered to go out. History informs us,†† that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved until that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country. The Persians likewise honoured the water,‡‡ the earth, and the winds, as so many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element; for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The Scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that they

* Among the Hebrews, the ordinary name for the sun signifies minister.

† *Superstitiosus vulgus manum ori admovent, osculum labiis pressit.* Minuc. p. 2. From thence is come the word *adorare*; that is to say, *ad os manum admovent*.

‡ The text is in the form of an oath, If I beheld, &c. *Job xxxi. 26, 27.*

§ Herod. l. i. c. 131. || 2 Kings xxiii. 11. Strab. l. xv. p. 732. ¶ *Ibid.* ** Xenoph. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. †† Zonar. Annal. vol. ii. ‡‡ Herod. l. i. c. 131.

caused their children to pass through the fire. It is well known how common this barbarous custom became in many provinces of Asia.

Besides these,* the Persians had two gods of a very different nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanius. The former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I shall give a fuller account of these deities hereafter.

The Persians erected neither statues, nor temples, nor altars, to their gods;† but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty,‡ when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of. It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi,§ that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of the Deity to shut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as a house or a temple.

Cicero thinks,|| that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wisely than the Persians, in that they erected temples to their gods within their cities, and thereby assigned them a residence in common with themselves, which was well calculated to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the same opinion (St. Austin has preserved that passage of his works¶.) After having observed, that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues for above 170 years, he adds, that if they had still preserved their ancient custom, their religion would have been the purer and freer from corruption: *Quod si adhuc mansisset, castius dii observarentur*; and he strengthens his opinion by the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestic interest. This was a fine way of attaching all private individuals to the public good, by teaching them that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves alone, but for the king and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the rest of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi, in Persia, were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to divine worship; and it was to them the people had recourse, in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what day, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all

* Plut. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 369. † Herod. l. i. c. 131. ‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233.

§ Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur, quòd parietibus includent deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus. Cic. l. ii. de Legib.

|| Melius Græci atque nostri, qui ut augerent pietatem in deos, eandem illos urbes, quas nos, incolere voluerunt. Adfert enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus. *Ibid.*

¶ Lib. iv. de Civ. Dei, a. 31.

their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any stranger in these matters, without the king's permission. It was granted in favour of Themistocles,* and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great consideration for him.

This knowledge and skill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, *θεωρὸν θεῶν*, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration.

It was even requisite that the king,† before he came to the crown, should have received instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and have learned of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the state, when he was upon the throne, without first consulting them; for which reason Pliny says,‡ that even in his time they were looked upon in all the Eastern countries as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who styled themselves the kings of kings.

They were the sages, the philosophers, and men of learning, in Persia; as the Gymnosophists and Brachmans were amongst the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation made people come from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion; and we are assured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that doctrine, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only the tenet of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

It is generally agreed, that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect; but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. What Pliny says upon this head may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions,§ as is very judiciously observed by Dr. Prideaux. We read in that author, that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance of 600 years. The first of them was the founder of the Magian sect, about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who certainly flourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the East, and the end of Darius's, son of Hystaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the Eastern countries, idolatry was divided into

* In Them. p. 136.

† Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse, qui non antè Magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit. Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 91.

‡ In tantum fastigii adolevit (auctoritas Magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magnâ parte gentium prævaleat, et in oriente regum regibus imperet. Plin. l. xxx. c. 1.

§ Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.

two principal sects; that of the Sabians, who adored images; and that of the Magi, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of astronomy, and their particular application to the study of the seven planets, which they believed to be inhabited by as many intelligences, who were to those orbs what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by so many images, or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligences, or deities, were as really present as in the planets themselves. In time, the number of their gods considerably increased: this image-worship from Chaldea spread itself throughout all the East; from thence passed into Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this sect of the Sabians, was diametrically opposite that of the Magi, which also took its rise in the same Eastern countries. As the Magi, held images in utter abhorrence, they worshipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtilty, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, and where they have remained even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good God they named Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil God Ahraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromasdes, and the latter Arimanius. And therefore,* when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens, as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes, their good god.

Concerning these two gods, they had this difference of opinion; that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity; others contended that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his peculiar world; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with all the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian sect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but which, since the death of Smerdis, who usurped the throne, and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adhe-

* Hist. in Themist. p. 128.

rents and followers, had fallen into great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his first appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion was, that whereas before they had held as a fundamental tenet the existence of two supreme principles; the first light, which was the author of all good; and the other darkness, the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who out of these two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil; that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that are: that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place: that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works; after which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishment of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they shall remain separate for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that sect, which still subsists in Persia and India, do, without any variation after so many ages, still hold even to this day.

It is needless to inform the reader, that almost all these tenets, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy Scriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have had an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God: the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might have conversed with Daniel himself, who was in very great power and credit in the Persian court.

Another reformation, made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein their sacred fire was carefully and constantly preserved; which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priests kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament, &c.* from whence I have taken only a short extract.

Their Marriages, and the Manner of Burying the Dead.

Having said so much of the religion of the Eastern nations, which is an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greater brevity. Amongst which, the marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

There is nothing more horrible,* or that gives us a stronger idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain annual festival, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel or place of debauchery.

This wicked custom was still in being,† and very prevalent when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admonish them against so scandalous an abomination.

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, than the Babylonians. I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglios,‡ and of which they were as jealous as if they had had but one wife, keeping them all in separate apartments under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have any communication with one another, much less with persons without doors. It strikes one with horror to read how far they carried their neglect and contempt of the most common laws of nature.§ Even incest with a sister was allowed amongst them by their laws, or at least authorized by their Magi, those pretended sages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyzes. Nor did even a father respect his own daughter, or a mother the son of her own body. We read in Plutarch,|| that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for one of his own daughters, called Atossa, was so far from opposing his unlawful desire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. For, says she to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, *are not you yourself set*

* Herod. l. i. c. 120.

† Baruch, vi. 42, 43.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 135.

§ Philo. lib. de Special. leg. p. 773. Diog. Laert. in Prom. p. 6.

|| In Artax. p. 1023.

by God over the Persians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, being become master of Persia, by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abyss the Gospel has delivered us; and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying their dead. It was not the custom of the Eastern nations,* and especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to consume their bodies in the flames. Accordingly† we find that Cyrus,‡ when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of; by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent, from whence he sprung, and to which he ought to return. And when Cambyses had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt,§ he thought he crowned all by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of the latter to wrap up their dead in wax,|| in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give a fuller account in this place of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of Barnabas Brisson,¶ president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with erudite observations, which cost him little, and yet often do him great honour.

ARTICLE V.

The causes of the declension of the Persian Empire, and of the change that happened in their manners.

When we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people: and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners in any state is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

* Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 236.

‡ Ac mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulture genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditi enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur. Cic. lib. ii. de Leg. n. 36.

§ Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

|| Condiunt Egyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant: Persæ jam cerâ circumlitos condiunt, ut quàm maximè permancant diuturna corpora. Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i. n. 108.

¶ Barnab. Brissonius de regio Persarum principatu, &c. Argentorati, an. 1710.

Among many other causes that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal: Their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

SECTION I.

Luxury and magnificence.

What made the Persian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accustomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or something as hard, to lie upon, inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing. The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous, and woody, might somewhat contribute to their hardiness; for which reason Cyrus would never consent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate.* The excellent education bestowed upon the ancient Persians, of which we have already given a sufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and caprice of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good; this excellent education prepared them for observing, in all places and at all times, a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this, the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to surpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most inured and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from soldiers so formed and so trained up? By them therefore we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preserve that simplicity, sobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know, whether Cyrus himself did not at that very time sow the first seeds of that luxury, which soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first showed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendour of his regal dignity, to make a pompous display of all the magnificence

* Plat. in. Apophth. p. 173.

and show, that was best calculated to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were very plain and simple.

This prince seemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and esteem what pleases the eye and makes a fine show, the anxiety they have to distinguish themselves above others by a false merit, easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess, as was little better than downright madness.* The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and with what an equipage such a troop must be attended, is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with the greater resolution; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were overcome and enslaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another instance of their folly was, that even in the army they carried their luxury and extravagance with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities. The most exquisite meats,† the rarest birds, and the costliest dainties, must needs be found for the prince in what part of the world soever he was encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; instruments of luxury,‡ says a certain historian, not of victory; proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not see what reason Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last years of his life. It must be owned, indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may on certain occasions be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendour. But princes, possessed of a real and solid merit have a thousand ways of compensating what they seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct than by the greatness of his expenses; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for pomp and expense

* Xenoph. Cyrop. l. iv. p. 91—99.

† Senec. l. iii. de Ira, c. 20.

‡ Non belli sed luxuriz apparatus—Acieum Persarum, auro purpurisque fulgentem in mari jubeat Alexander, prædam; non armis gustatum. Q. Curt.

first prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain, indisputable maxim, that whenever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms; and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate the truth of this maxim.

What then is that subtle, secret poison, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating at the same time both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the seasons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniences and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements, that endear it to them, and which by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder them from exposing themselves to dangers which may in a moment deprive them of all those things wherein they place their felicity.

SECTION II.

The abject submission and slavery of the Persians.

We are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And indeed what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies; and, as it was finely said by one of the ancients,* *from the day a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one half of his ancient virtue.* He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent to the success of public affairs to the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances

* Hom. Odys. P. v. 323.

allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered or improved. It may truly be said that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; nor did he think, that a despotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open; and free access was allowed to every one that desired to speak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit; invited to his table not only the generals of his army, not only the principal officers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. The simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently.* His aim was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may truly be called the art of governing and commanding.

In reading Xenophon, we observe with pleasure, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and raillery; but at the same time that amiable cheerfulness and gaiety which enlivened their entertainments, from which all pomp and luxury were banished, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity which was so far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave such a life and spirit to it, as nothing but a real affection and tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such a conduct as this a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expense. Thirty thousand men of this sort are preferable to millions of such slaves as these very Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident, and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbra, when Cyrus's horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice of what importance it is to a commander to be loved by his soldiers. The danger of the king's person became the danger of the army; and his troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner, under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess, their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads, and encircled by a superb diadem, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and splendid court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things

* *Tantas vires habet frugalitas Principis, ut tot impendia, tot erogationibus sola sufficiat.* *Plin. in Paneg. Traj.*

must needs conduce to heighten the splendour of royalty; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loses all his merit and his dignity when he puts off his ornaments?

Some of the Eastern kings, conceiving that they should thereby procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom showed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his accession to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the Eastern countries. But it is a great mistake, to imagine that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a sort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so; and Plutarch observes,* that that prince, and queen Statira, his wife, took a pleasure in being visible and of easy access to their people; and by so doing were but the more respected.

Among the Persians no subject whatsoever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself before him; and this law, which Seneca with good reason calls a Persian slavery,† *Persicam servitutem*, extended also to foreigners. We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctance; and we are told, that one of them, in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration, purposely let fall his ring when he came near the king,‡ that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hesitate or deliberate about a homage, which the kings exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

What the Scripture relates of two sovereigns,§ whereof the one commanded all his subjects on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image; and the other under the same penalty suspended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himself alone; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran all together on the first signal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king exclusively of all the powers of heaven: all this shows to what an extravagant excess the Eastern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and servitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects, that the latter, of what rank or quality soever, whether satrapæ governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were looked upon only as slaves; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but

* In Artax. p. 1013.

† Lib. iii. de Benef. c. 12. et lib. iii. de Irâ, c. 17

‡ *Ælian.* l. i. Var. Hist. cap. xxi.

§ Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iii. Darius the Mede, Dan. vi.

as a kind of divinity. In a word,* the peculiar character of the Asiatic nations, and of the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery; which made Cicero say,† that the despotic power which some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman commonwealth, was an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes on one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to Plato,‡ were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his subjects, and the subjects to their king. Such a haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and such an abject state of slavery leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings governed only by threats and menaces, and the subjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men, so dispirited and depressed by habitual slavery as the Persians were, and reduced to such an abject servitude; which, to use the words of Longinus,§ is a kind of imprisonment, wherein a man's soul may be said in some sort to grow little and contracted?

I am unwilling to say it; but I do not know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among the Persians both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians (till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful prostitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances) first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance; for Xenophon intimates clearly enough, that Cyrus,|| who desired to have that homage paid him, had appointed persons on purpose to begin it; whose example was accordingly followed by the multitude. In these little tricks and stratagems, we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion: and I should be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks wherewith posterity is always assaulting even the best of princes, *secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant*;¶ and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him, from himself and his own naturally good inclinations; *Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus*?***

* Plat. in Apophth. p. 212.

† Lib. x. Epist. ad Attic.

‡ Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 697.

§ Cap. xxiv.

|| Cyrop. l. viii. p. 215.

¶ Sallust.

*** Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 48.

SECTION III.

The wrong education of their princes another cause of the declension of the Persian Empire.

It is Plato still,* the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcusable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience. What he most earnestly recommended to his officers,† in that fine discourse which he made to them after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same manner as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to preserve themselves in the practice of the same manners as were observed there.

Would one believe, that a prince, who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himself wholly about his conquests, he left that care entirely to women, that is, to princesses, brought up in a country where pomp, luxury, and voluptuousness reigned in the highest degree; for the queen his wife was of Media. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes, Cambyzes and Smerdis, educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them: all their desires were anticipated. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they said and did. Every one cringed and stooped and bent the knee before them; and it was thought essential to their greatness to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. It is Plato that informs us of all these particulars; for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were brought up, though he gives us so ample an account of the education of their father.

What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war; for they must needs have been of sufficient years: but perhaps the women opposed his design, and overruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these

* Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 694. 695.

† Cyrop. l. vii. p. 320.

princes was such as might be expected from it. Cambyses came out of that school what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream; in a word, a furious frantic madman, who by his ill-conduct brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, says Plato, left him at his death vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces by sea and land; but he had not given him the means of preserving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.

This philosopher makes the same reflections with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the son of a king, had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner as princes were; but ascended the throne with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than he, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyses.

From all this, Plato, after having shown what numberless rocks and quicksands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the Persian empire was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their successors, under whom every thing still degenerated more and more, till at last their luxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.

SECTION IV.

Their breach of faith and want of sincerity.

We are informed by Xenophon,* that one of the causes both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was their want of public faith. Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him, thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to observe all treaties into which they had entered, with the solemnity of an oath; and that even with respect to those that had rendered themselves most unworthy of such treatment, through their perfidiousness and insincerity; and it was by this sound policy and prudent conduct, that they gained the absolute confidence, both of their own subjects, and of all their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly

* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 230.

belongs chiefly to the reign of the great Cyrus; though Xenophon applies it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus,* whose grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatsoever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that, if probity and truth were banished from the rest of mankind, they ought to find a sanctuary in the heart of a king; who, being the bond and centre, as it were, of society, should also be the protector and avenger of faith engaged; which is the very foundation whereon the other depends.

Such sentiments as these, so noble and so worthy of persons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious artificial policy, soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon,† which heretofore the prince used to cherish and distinguish, all the chief offices of the court began to be filled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrifice every thing to his humour and supposed interests; who hold it as a maxim,‡ that falsehood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the shortest and surest expedients to give success to his enterprises and designs; who look upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pusillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion, in short, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer considerations of state, before the exact observation of treaties, though concluded in never so solemn and sacred a manner.

The Asiatic nations, continues Xenophon, soon imitated their prince, who became their example and instructor in double-dealing and treachery. They soon gave themselves up to violence, injustice, and impiety: and from thence proceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their sovereigns, which is both the natural consequence and usual punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most sacred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath by which treaties are sealed and ratified, and the Deity invoked not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most sacred and august ceremony, very proper for the subjecting of earthly princes to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them; and for the keeping of all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in

* De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 267.

† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

‡ *Ἐπὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦν, συντοματάτην ὡς ὥστε εἶναι δὴ τοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντος, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἱσχυατῆν· τὸ δὲ ἀπλοῦς τε καὶ ἀληθές, τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἀπλοῦς εἶναι,* De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 239.

fear of the Supreme Being, how shall they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be extinguished in the subjects as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and on what foundation shall the throne be established? Cyrus had good reason to say,* that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all astonishing that the contempt which an impious prince, who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shows of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best-established empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction. Kings, says Plutarch,† when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of their subjects' unfaithfulness and disloyalty: but they do them wrong; and forget that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by showing no regard to justice and fidelity, which on all occasions they sacrificed without scruple to their own particular interests.

* Cyrop. l. iii. p. 204.

† Plut. in Pyrrh. 300.

BOOK V.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

ORIGIN AND FIRST SETTLEMENT

OF THE SEVERAL

STATES AND GOVERNMENTS

OF

GREECE.

Of all the countries of antiquity, none have been so highly celebrated, or furnished history with so many valuable monuments and illustrious examples, as Greece. In what light soever she is considered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wisdom of her laws, or the study and improvement of arts and sciences, all these she carried to a high degree of perfection; and it may truly be said, that in all these respects she has in some measure been the school of mankind.

It is impossible not to be very much interested in the history of such a nation; especially when we consider that it has been transmitted to us by writers of the most consummate merit, many of whom distinguished themselves as much by their swords as their pens; and were as great commanders and able statesmen, as excellent historians. I confess, it is a vast advantage to have such men for guides; men of an exquisite judgment and consummate prudence; of a refined and perfect taste in every respect; and who furnish not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expressions wherewith they are to be represented; but, what is much more important, the proper reflections that are to accompany those facts; and which are the most useful improvements resulting from history. These are the rich sources from whence I shall draw all that I have to say, after I have previously inquired into the first origin and establishment of the Grecian states. As this inquiry must be dry, and no

capable of affording much delight to the reader, I shall be as brief as possible. But before I enter upon that, I think it necessary to draw a kind of short plan of the situation of the country, and of the several parts that compose it.

ARTICLE I.

A geographical description of Ancient Greece.

Ancient Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the east by the *Ægean sea*, now called the *Archipelago*; on the south by the *Cretan*, or *Candian sea*; on the west by the *Ionian sea*; and on the north by *Illyria* and *Thrace*.

The constituent parts of ancient Greece are, *Epirus*, *Peloponnesus*, *Greece* properly so called, *Thessaly*, and *Macedonia*.

EPIRUS. This province is situate to the west, and divided from *Thessaly* and *Macedonia* by mount *Pindus*, and the *Acroceraunian mountains*.

The principal inhabitants of *Epirus* are, the *Molossians*, whose chief city is *Dodona*, famous for the temple and oracle of *Jupiter*. The *Chaonians*, whose principal city is *Oricum*. The *Thesprotians*, whose city is *Buthrotum*, where was the palace and residence of *Pyrrhus*. The *Acarnanians*, whose city is *Ambracia*, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this stood *Actium*, famous for the victory of *Augustus Cæsar*, who built over-against that city, on the other side of the gulf, a city named *Nicopolis*. There were two little rivers in *Epirus*, very famous in fabulous story, *Cocythus* and *Acheron*.

Epirus must have been very well peopled in former times; as *Polybius* relates,* that *Paulus Æmilius*, after having defeated *Perseus*, the last king of *Macedonia*, destroyed seventy cities in that country, the greatest part of which belonged to the *Molossians*; and that he carried away from thence no less than 150,000 prisoners.

PELOPONNESUS. This is a peninsula, now called the *Morea*, joined to the rest of *Greece* only by the isthmus of *Corinth*, that is but six miles broad. It is well known, that several princes have attempted in vain to cut through this isthmus.

The parts of *Peloponnesus* are *ACHAIA*, properly so called, whose chief cities are *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, *Patræ*, &c. *ELIS*, in which is *Olympia*, called also *Pisa*, seated on the river *Alpheus*, upon the banks of which the *Olympic games* used to be celebrated. *MESSENIA*, in which are the cities of *Messene*, *Pylos*, the birth-place of *Nestor* and *Corona*. *ARCADIA*, in which was *Cyllene*, the mountain where *Mercury* was born, the cities of *Tegea*, *Stymphalus*, *Mantineæ*, and *Megalopolis*, *Polybius's* native place. *LACONIA*, wherein stood *Sparta*, or *Lacedæmon*, and *Amyclæ*; mount *Taygetus*; the river *Eurotas*, and the cape of *Tenarus*. *ARGOLIS*, in

* *Apud Strab. l. vi. p. 322.*

which was the city of Argos, called also Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemea, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Troezen, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Esculapius.

GREECE, properly so called. The principal parts of this country were **ÆTOLIA**, in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon, and Olenus. **DORIS**. The Locri **ŌZOLÆ**. Naupactus, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. **PHOCIA**. Anticyra. Delphi, at the foot of mount Parnassus, famous for the oracles delivered there. In this country also was mount Helicon. **BOEOTIA**. Mount Cithæron. Orchomenus. Thespia. Chæronea, illustrious as being Plutarch's native country. Platæe, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army set sail for the siege of Troy. Lenæa, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. **ATTICA**. Megara. Eleusis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Persian army. Athens, whose ports were Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerus. The mountain Hymettus, famous for its excellent honey. **LOCRIA**.

THESSALY. The most remarkable towns of this province were, Gomphi, Pharsalia, near which Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey. Magnesia. Methone, at the siege of which Philip lost his eye. Thermopylæ, a narrow strait, famous for the vigorous resistance of 300 Spartans against Xerxes's numerous army, and for their glorious defeat. Pthia. Thebes. Larissa. Demetrias. The delightful valleys of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous story for the battle of the giants.

MACEDONIA. I shall mention only a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Apollonia. Pella, the capital of the country, and the native place of Philip, and of his son Alexander the Great. Ege. Edessa. Pallenæ. Olynthus, from whence the Olynthiæcs of Demosthenes took their name. Torone. Acanthus. Thessalonica, now called Salonichi. Stagira, the place of Aristotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gained there by Augustus and Antony over Brutus and Cassius. Scotussa. Mount Athos and the river Strymon.

The Grecian Isles.

There is a great number of islands contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in history. In the Ionian sea, Corcyra, with a town of the same name, now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalonia and Zante. Ithaca, the country of Ulysses, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Malea, over-against Laconia, is Cythera. In the Saronic gulf, are Ægina, and Salamis, so famous for the sea-fight between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Asia lie the Sporades; and the Cyclades, the most

noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, whence the finest marble was dug. Higher up in the *Ægean* sea is Eubœa, now Negropont, separated from the main land by a small arm of the sea, called Euripus. The most remarkable city of this isle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Seyrus, and a good deal higher Lemnos, now called Stalimene; and still farther, Samothrace. Lower down is Lesbos, whose principal city was Mitylene, from whence the isle has since taken the name of Metelin. Chios, now Scio, renowned for excellent wine; and, lastly, Samos. Some of these last-mentioned isles are reckoned to belong to Asia.

The island of Crete, or Candia, is the largest of all the islands contiguous to Greece. It has to the north the *Ægean* sea, or the Archipelago; and to the south the African ocean. Its principal towns were, Gortyna, Cydon, Gnosus; its mountains, Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous over all the world.

The Grecians had colonies in most of these isles.

They had likewise settlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy towards Calabria, which places are for that reason called *Græcia Magna*.*

But their grand settlement was in Asia Minor, and particularly in *Æolis*, *Ionis*, and *Doris*.† The principal towns of *Æolis* are Cumæ, Phocæa, Elea. Of *Ionis*, Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, and Ephesus. Of *Doris*, Halicarnassus and Cnidos.

They had also a great number of colonies dispersed up and down in different parts of the world, whereof I shall give some account as occasion shall offer.

ARTICLE II.

Division of the Grecian History into four several ages.

The Grecian history may be divided into four different ages, marked out by so many memorable epochs, all which together include the space of 2154 years.

The first age extends from the foundation of the several petty kingdoms of Greece (beginning with that of Sicyon, which is the most ancient) to the siege of Troy, and comprehends about 1000 years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820.

The second extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, at which period the Grecian history begins to be intermixed with that of the Persians, and contains the space of 663 years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483.

The third extends from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great, which is the finest part of the Grecian history, and takes in the term of 198 years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681.

The fourth and last age commences from the death of Alexander

* *Strab.* l. vi. p. 263.

† *Plin.* l. vi. c. 2.

at which time the Grecians began to decline, and continues to their final subjection by the Romans. The epocha of the utter ruin and downfall of the Greeks may be dated, partly from the taking and destruction of Corinth by the consul L. Mummius, in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the Seleucids in Asia by Pompey, in the year of the world 3939, and of the kingdom of the Lagids in Egypt by Augustus, *anno mni*, 3974. This last age includes in all 293 years.

Of these four ages, I shall in this place only touch upon the first two, in a very succinct manner, just to give the reader some general notion of that obscure period; because those times, at least a great part of them, have more of fable in them than of real history, and are wrapt up in such darkness and obscurity, as are very hard, if not impossible, to penetrate; and I have often declared already, that such a dark and laborious inquiry, though very useful for those that are anxious to make deep researches into history, does not come within the plan of my design.

ARTICLE III.

The primitive origin of the Grecians.

In order to arrive at any certainty with respect to the first origin of the Grecian nations, we must necessarily have recourse to the accounts we have of it in Holy Scripture.

Javan or Ilon (for in the Hebrew the same letters differently pointed form these two different names,*) the son of Japheth, and grandson of Noah, was certainly the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks, though he has been looked upon as the father of the Ionians only, which were but one particular nation of Greeks. But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians, and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of Ionians. And for this reason, Alexander, in the predictions of Daniel,† is mentioned under the name of the king of Javan.‡

Javan had four sons,§ Elishah, Tarshish, Chittim, and Dodanim. As Javan was the original father of the Grecians in general, without doubt his four sons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that nation, which became in succeeding ages so renowned for arts and arms.

Elishah is the same as Ellas, as it is rendered in the Chaldean translation, and the word *Ελλας*, which was used as the common appellation of the whole people, in the same manner as the word *Ελλας* was of the whole country, has no other derivation. The very ancient city of Elis, in Peloponnesus, the Elysian fields, the river Elisius, or Ilissus, have long retained the marks of their being

* Gen. x. 2.

† Dan. viii. 21.

‡ *Elireus capream rex Græcæ*; in the Hebrew *rex Javan*. — § Gen. x. 4.

derived from Elishah, and have contributed more to preserve his memory, than the historians themselves of the nation, who were inquisitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original; as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, and did not carry their inquiries so high. Upon which account, they themselves derived the words Hellenes and Iones from another fountain, as we shall see in the sequel; for I think myself obliged to give some account of their opinions also in this respect.

Tarshish was the second son of Javan. He settled, as his brethren did, in some part of Greece, perhaps in Achaia, or the neighbouring provinces, as Elishah did in Peloponnesus.

It is not to be doubted but that Chittim was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the first book of the Maccabees,* in the beginning of which it is said, that Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of Cethim,† [or Chittim,] to make war against Darius, king of Persia. And in the eighth chapter, speaking of the Romans and their victories over the last kings of Macedonia, Philip and Perseus,‡ the two last-mentioned princes are called kings of the Chittians.

Dodania. It is very probable, that Thessaly and Epirus were the portion of the fourth son of Javan. The impious worship of Jupiter of Dodona, as well as the city Dodona itself, are proofs that some remembrance of Dodania had remained with the people, who derived their first establishment and origin from him.

This is all that can be said with any certainty concerning the origin of the Grecian nations. The Holy Scripture, whose design is not so satisfy our curiosity, but to nourish and improve our piety, after scattering these few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkness concerning the rest of their history: which therefore can be collected only from profane authors.

If we may believe Pliny,|| the Grecians were so called from the name of an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition. Homer, in his poems, calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives, and Achaians. It is observable, that the word *Græcus* is not once used in Virgil.

The exceeding rusticity of the first Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in question the testimony of their own historians upon that point. But a people so vain of their origin as to adorn it by fiction and fables, would never think of inventing any thing in its disparagement. Who would imagine that the people,† to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the sciences, should be descended from mere savages, who knew no other law than force, were ignorant even of agriculture, and fed

* 1 Macc. i. 1.

† Egressus de terrâ Cethim.

‡ Philippum et Perseum Cotheorum regem. Ver. 5.

§ Δαναοὶ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Ἑλλήνες. Stephana.

|| Lib. iv. c. 7.

† Pausan. l. viii. p. 458, 459.

on herbs and roots like the brute beasts? And yet this appears plainly to be the case, from the divine honours they decreed to the person* who first taught them to feed upon acorns as a more delicate and wholesome nourishment than herbs. There was still a great distance from this first improvement to a state of urbanity and politeness. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter, till after a long process of time.

The weakest were not the last to understand the necessity of living together in society, in order to defend themselves against violence and oppression. At first they built single houses at a distance from one another; the number of which insensibly increasing, formed in time towns and cities. But the bare living together in society was not sufficient to polish such a people. Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. Both these nations contributed to instruct and civilize the Grecians,† by the colonies they sent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the former, the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taste for arts and sciences, and initiated them into her mysteries.

Greece,‡ in her infant state, was exposed to great commotions and frequent revolutions; because, as the people had no settled correspondence, and no superior power to give laws to the rest, every thing was determined by force and violence. The strongest invaded the lands of their neighbours, which they thought more fertile and delightful than their own, and dispossessed the lawful owners, who were obliged to seek new settlements elsewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the same invasions and outrages to fear, and therefore consequently kept themselves in possession of their ancient territories; for which reason they took the name of αἰετῆρες, that is, men born in the country where they lived, to distinguish themselves from the rest of the nations, that had almost all transplanted themselves from place to place.

Such were in general the first beginnings of Greece. We must now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the establishment of the several different states whereof the whole country consisted.

ARTICLE IV.

The different states into which Greece was divided.

In those early times kingdoms were but inconsiderable, and of very small extent, the title of kingdom being often given to a single city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.‡

A. M. 1915. SICYON. The most ancient kingdom of Greece was Ant. J. C. 2099. that of Sicyon; whose beginning is placed by Eusebius 1313 years before the first Olympiad. Its duration is believed to have been 1000 years.

* Pelagus.

† Thucyd. lib. i. p. 2.

‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 52. l. v. c. 53—60. Plin. l. v. c. 12. l. vii. c. 56.

§ Euseb. in Chron.

A. M. 2441. **ARGOS.** The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponnesus, **Ant. J. C. 1856.** began 1080 years before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king of it was **INACHUS**. His successors were, his son **PHORONEUS**; **APIS**; **ARGUS**, from whom the country took its name; and after several others, **GELANOR**, who was dethroned and expelled his kingdom by **DANAUS**, the Egyptian. The **A. M. 2530.** successors of this last were **LYNCEUS**, the son of his **Ant. J. C. 1474.** brother **Ægyptus**, who alone, of fifty brothers, escaped the cruelty of the Danaides; then **ABAS**, **PROTEUS**, and **ACRISIUS**.

Of Danae, daughter to the last, was born **Perseus**, who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grandfather, **Acisius**, and not being able to bear the sight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to **Mycenæ**, and there fixed the seat of his kingdom.

MYCENÆ. **Perseus** then translated the seat of the kingdom from Argos to **Mycenæ**. He left several sons behind him; among others, **Alcæus**, **Sthenelus**, and **Electryon**. **Alcæus** was the father of **Amphitryon**; **Sthenelus** of **Eurystheus**; and **Electryon** of **Alcmena**. **Amphitryon** married **Alcmena**, upon whom **Jupiter** begat **Hercules**.

Eurystheus and **Hercules** came into the world the same day; but as the birth of the former was by **Juno's** management antecedent to that of the latter, **Hercules** was forced to be subject to him, and was obliged by his order to undertake the twelve labours, so celebrated in fabulous history.

The kings who reigned at **Mycenæ**, after **Perseus**, were, **ELECTRYON**, **STHENELUS**, and **EURYSTHEUS**. The last, after the death of **Hercules**, declared open war against his descendants, apprehending they might some time or other attempt to dethrone him; which, as it happened, was done by the **Heraclidæ**; for, having killed **Eurystheus** in battle, they entered victorious into **Peloponnesus**, and made themselves masters of the country. But, as this happened before the time determined by fate, a plague ensued, which, with the direction of an oracle, obliged them to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expression of the oracle, they made a second attempt, which likewise proved fruitless. This was about twenty years before the taking of **Troy**.

ATREUS, the son of **Pelops**, uncle by the mother's side to **Eurystheus**, was the latter's successor. And in this manner the crown came to the descendants of **Pelops**, from whom **Peloponnesus**, which before was called **Apia**, derived its name. The bloody hatred of the two brothers, **Atreus** and **Thyestes**, is known to all the world.

PLISTHENES, the son of **Atreus**, succeeded his father in the kingdom of **Mycenæ**, which he left to his son **AGAMEMNON**, who was succeeded by his son **ORESTES**. The kingdom of **Mycenæ** was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of **Pelops**.

TRIMENES and **PENTHILUS**, sons of **Orestes**, reigned after their father, and were at last driven out of **Peloponnesus** by the **Heraclidæ**.

A. M. 940. **ATHENS.** CECROPS, a native of Egypt, was the founder of this kingdom. Having settled in Attica, he divided all the country subject to him into twelve districts. He it was who established the Areopagus.

This august tribunal, in the reign of his successor CRANAUS, adjudged the famous difference between Neptune and Mars. In his time happened Deucalion's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient, and happened 1020 years before the first Olympiad, and consequently in the year of the world 2208.

AMPHICTRYON, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between twelve nations, which assembled twice a year at Thermopylae, there to offer their common sacrifices, and to consult together upon their affairs in general, as also upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the assembly of the Amphictyons.

The reign of **ERECTHUS** is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proserpine, as also for the institution of the mysteries at Eleusis.

A. M. 579. The reign of **ÆGEUS**, the son of Pandion, is the most illustrious period of the history of the heroes. In his time are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, second king of Crete, against the Athenians; the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

THESEUS succeeded his father Ægeus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or twelve districts, separated from each other. Theseus brought the people to understand the advantages of common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city or body politic, in which the whole authority was united.

CORDUS was the last king of Athens: he devoted himself to die for his people.

A. M. 934. After him the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians. **MEDON**, his son, was set at the head of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, that is to say, president or governor. The first Archontes were for life; but the Athenians, growing weary of a government which they still thought bore too great a resemblance to royal power, made their Archontes elective every ten years, and at last reduced it to an annual office.

A. M. 934. **THESES.** Cadmus, who came by sea from the coast of Phœnicia, that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, seized upon that part of the country, which was afterwards called Boeotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at least a citadel, which from his own name he called Cadmea, and there fixed the seat of his power and dominion.

The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his successors, and of Jocasta his wife, of Œdipus their son, of Eteocles and Polynices, who were born of the incestuous marriage of Jocasta with Œdipus, have furnished ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical representations.

SPARTA, OR LACEDÆMON. It is supposed, that **LELIX**, the first king of Laconia, began his reign about 1516 years before the Christian era.

TYNDARUS, the ninth king of Lacedæmon, had, by **Leda**, **Castor** and **Pollux**, who were twins, besides **Helena**, and **Clytemnestra** the wife of **Agamemnon**, king of **Mycenæ**. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he began to think of choosing a successor, by looking out for a husband for his daughter **Helena**. All the suitors to this princess bound themselves by oath, to abide by, and entirely submit to, the choice which the lady herself should make, who determined in favour of **Menelaus**. She had not lived above three years with her husband, before she was carried off by **Alexander** or **Paris**, son of **Priam**, king of the **Trojans**; which rape was the cause of the **Trojan war**. Greece did not properly begin to know or experience her united strength, till the famous siege of that city, where **Achilles**, the **Ajaxes**, **Nestor**, and **Ulysses**, gave Asia sufficient reason to forebode her future subjection to their posterity. The Greeks took **Troy** after a ten years' siege, much about the time that **Jephthah** governed the people of **God**; that is, according to **Archbishop Usher**, in the year of the world 2826, and 1184 years before **Jesus Christ**. This epocha is famous in history, and should carefully be remembered, as well as that of the **Olympiads**.

An **Olympiad** is the revolution of four complete years, from one celebration of the **Olympic games** to the other. We have elsewhere given an account of the institution of these games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of **Pisa**, otherwise called **Olympia**.

The common era of the **Olympiads** begins in the summer of the year of the world 3228, 776 years before **Jesus Christ**, from the games in which **Corebus** won the prize in the foot-race.

Four score years after the taking of **Troy**, the **Heraclidæ** re-entered **Peloponnesus**, and siezed **Lacedæmon**, where two brothers, **Eurysthenes** and **Procles**, sons of **Aristodemus**, began to reign together, and from their time the sceptre always continued jointly in the hands of the descendants of those two families. Many years after this, **Lycurgus** instituted that body of laws for the **Spartan state**, which rendered both the legislator and republic so famous in history: I shall speak of them at large in the sequel.

A. M. 2638. **CORINTH.** **Corinth** began later than the other cities **Ant. J. C. 1376.** I have been speaking of to be governed by kings of its own. It was at first subject to those of **Argos** and **Mycenæ**; at last, **Sisyphus**, the son of **Æolus**, made himself master of it. But his descendants were dispossessed of the throne by the **Heraclidæ**, about 110 years after the siege of **Troy**.

The regal power, after this, came to the descendants of **Bacchis**, under whom the monarchy was changed into an aristocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually chose from among themselves a chief magistrate, whom

they called Prytanis. At last Cypselus having gained the people, usurped the supreme authority, which he transmitted to his son Pericles; who held a distinguished rank among the Grecian sages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

A. M. 3191. MACEDONIA. It was a long time before the Greeks A.D. J. C. 1812. paid any great attention to Macedonia. Her kings, living retired in woods and mountains, seemed not to be considered as a part of Greece. They pretended, that their kings, of whom CARANUS was the first, were descended from Hercules. Philip, and his son Alexander, raised the glory of this kingdom to a very high pitch. It had subsisted 471 years before the death of Alexander, and continued 155 more, till Perseus was defeated and taken by the Romans; in all, 626 years.

ARTICLE V.

Colonies of the Greeks sent into Asia Minor.

We have already observed, that fourscore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponnesus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is, Tisamenes and Penthilus, sons of Orestes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon, among themselves.

So great a revolution as this changed almost the whole face of the country, and made way for several very famous transmigrations. To understand these the better, and to have the clearer idea of the situation of many of the Grecian nations, as also of the four dialects, or different idioms of speech, that prevailed among them, it will be necessary to look a little farther back into history.

Deucalion,* who reigned in Thessaly, and under whom happened the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha his wife two sons, Hellen and Amphictyon. The latter, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his place. Hellen, if we may believe the historians of his country, gave the name of Hellenes to the Greeks: he had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus.

Æolus, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and besides Thessaly, had Locris and Bœotia added to his dominions. Several of his descendants went into Peloponnesus with Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peloponnesus took its name, and settled themselves in Laconia.

The country contiguous to Parnassus, fell to the share of Dorus, and from him was called Doris.

Xuthus, compelled by his brothers, upon some private quarrel, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder committed by Achæus, obliged him to re-

* Strab. l. viii. p. 382, &c. Pausan. l. vii. p. 386, &c.

ture to Peloponnesus, which was then called Egialæa, of which one part was from him called Achaia. His descendants settled at Lacedæmon.

Ion, having signalized himself by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave his name to the country; for the inhabitants of Attica were likewise called Ionians. The number of the citizens increased to such a degree, that the Athenians were obliged to send a colony of Ionians into Peloponnesus, who likewise gave their name to the country they possessed.

Thus all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, though composed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, fourscore years after the taking of Troy, resolved seriously to recover Peloponnesus, which, they imagined, of right belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, sons of Aristomachus, namely, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus: the last dying, his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, succeeded him. The success of their expedition was as happy as the motive was just, and they recovered the possession of their ancient domain. Argos fell to Temenus, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Laconia to the two sons of Aristodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were descended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, after some wandering, settled in that part of Asia Minor which from them took the name of Æolus, where they founded Smyrna, and eleven other cities; but the city of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewise possessed of several cities of Lesbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they seized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponnesus. The latter fled at first to Athens, their original country, from whence they some time afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both sons of Codrus, and seized upon that part of the coast of Asia Minor which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Ephesus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

The power of the Athenians,* who had then Codrus for their king, being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that had fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppose the progress of their power, and for that reason made war upon them. The latter were worsted in a battle, but still remained masters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and settled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.

One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus,† another went to Crete; the greatest number settled in

* Strab. p. 393.

† Strab. p. 653.

that part of Asia Minor which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and other cities, and made themselves masters of the islands of Rhodes, Cos, &c.

The Grecian Dialects.

It will now be more easy to understand what we have to say concerning the several Grecian dialects. These were four in number: the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and used by a distinct nation; but yet all derived from, and grounded upon, the same original tongue. And this diversity of languages can no ways appear wonderful in a country where the inhabitants consisted of different nations, that did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

1. The Attic dialect is that which was used in Athens, and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly used by Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Demosthenes.

2. The Ionic dialect was almost the same with the ancient Attic; but after it had passed into several towns of Asia Minor, and into the adjacent islands, which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaia, it received a sort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy which the Athenians afterwards attained. Hippocrates and Herodotus wrote in this dialect.

3. The Doric was first in use among the Spartans, and the people of Argos; it passed afterwards into Epirus, Libya, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracusans, and Pindar, followed this dialect.

4. The Æolic dialect was at first used by the Boeotians and their neighbours, and then in Æolis, a country in Asia Minor, between Ionia and Mysia, which contained ten or twelve cities, that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alcæus, of whose works very little remains, wrote in this dialect. We find also a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

ARTICLE VI.

The republican form of government almost generally established throughout Greece.

The reader may have observed, in the little I have said about the several settlements of Greece, that the primordial grounds of all those different states was monarchical government, the most ancient of all forms, the most universally received and established, the most proper to maintain peace and concord; and which, as Plato observes,* is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exercise over their families

* Plat. de Leg. l. III. p. 694.

But, as the state of things degenerated by degrees, through the injustice of usurpers, the severity of lawful masters, the insurrections of the people, and a thousand accidents and revolutions, that happened in those states; a totally different spirit seized the people, which prevailed all over Greece, kindled a violent desire of liberty, and brought about a general change of government every where, except in Macedonia; so that monarchy gave way to a republican government, which however was diversified into almost as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, there still remained a kind of tincture or leaven of the ancient monarchical government, which from time to time inflamed the ambition of many private citizens, and made them desire to become masters of their country. In almost every one of these petty states of Greece, some private persons arose, who without any right to the throne, either by birth or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence; and who, without any respect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exercised a sovereign authority, with a despotic empire and arbitrary sway. In order to support their unjust usurpations in the midst of distrusts and alarms, they thought themselves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to suppress real conspiracies, by the most cruel proscriptions; and to sacrifice to their own security all those whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a suspicious and tottering government, which found itself hated by all and was sensible it deserved to be so. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these men so odious, under the appellation of tyrants,* and which furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

All these cities and districts of Greece, that seemed so entirely disjointed from one another by their laws, customs, and interests, were nevertheless formed and combined into one sole, entire, and united body; whose strength increased to such a degree, as to make the formidable power of the Persians under Darius and Xerxes tremble; and which even then, perhaps, would have entirely overthrown the Persian greatness, had the Grecian states been wise enough to preserve that union and concord among themselves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the scene which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the reader's whole attention.

We shall see, in the following volumes, a small nation, confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of France, disputing for dominion with the most powerful empire then upon the earth; and we shall see this handful of men, not only making head against the innumerable army of the Persians, but dispersing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and sometimes reducing the Persian pride

* This word originally signified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.

so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered, as glorious for the conquerors.

Among the cities of Greece, there were two that particularly distinguished themselves, and acquired an authority and a kind of superiority over the rest, solely by their merit and conduct: these two were Lacedæmon and Athens. As these cities make a considerable figure, and act an illustrious part in the ensuing history, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought first to give the reader some idea of the genius, character, manners, and government, of their respective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furnish me with the greatest part of what I have to say upon this head.

ARTICLE VII.

The Spartan government. Laws established by Lycurgus.

There is perhaps nothing in profane history better attested, and at the same time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta, and the discipline established in it by Lycurgus. This legislator was the son of Eunomus,* one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. It would have been easy for Lycurgus to have ascended the throne after the death of his eldest brother, who left no son behind him; and in fact he was king for some days. But, as soon as his sister-in-law was found to be with child, he declared that the crown belonged to her son, if she had one; and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. In the mean time, the widow gave him secretly to understand, that if he would promise to marry her when he was king, she would destroy the fruit of her womb. So detestable a proposal struck Lycurgus with horror; however, he concealed his indignation, and amusing the woman with different pretences, so managed it, that she went her full time, and was delivered. As soon as the child was born, he proclaimed him king, and took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner. This prince, on account of the joy which the people testified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

The state was at this time in great disorder; † the authority, both of the kings and the laws, being absolutely despised and disregarded. No curb was strong enough to restrain the audaciousness of the people, which every day increased more and more.

Lycurgus formed the bold design of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government; and to be the more capable of making wise regulations, he thought fit to travel into several countries, in order to acquaint himself with the different manners of other nations, and to consult the most able and experienced persons in the art of government. He began with the island of Crete, whose harsh and austere laws are very famous; from thence he passed into

Plut. in vit. Lye. p. 40.

† Ibid. 41.

Asia, where quite different customs prevailed; and, last of all, he went into Egypt, which was then the seat of science, wisdom, and good counsels.

His long absence only made his country the more desirous of his return;* and the kings themselves importuned him to that purpose, being sensible how much they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in some degree of subjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being persuaded, that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.

But before he put this design in execution, he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle of Apollo: where after having offered his sacrifice, he received that famous answer, in which the priestess called him *a friend of the gods, and rather a god than a man*. And as for the favour he desired of being able to frame a set of good laws for his country, she told him, the god had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish would be the most excellent state in the world.

On his return to Sparta, the first thing he did was to bring over to his designs the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; and when he was assured of their approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order to astonish and intimidate those who might desire to oppose his undertaking.

The new form of government which he introduced into Sparta, may be reduced to three principal institutions.

FIRST INSTITUTION. *The Senate.*

Of all the new regulations or institutions made by Lycurgus,† the greatest and most considerable was that of the senate; which, by tempering and balancing, as Plato observes, the too absolute power of the kings, by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal support and preservation of that state. For whereas before, it was ever unsteady, and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceeding of the kings; at other times towards democracy, by the excessive power of the people; the senate served as a kind of counterpoise to both, which kept the state in a due equilibrium, and preserved it in a firm and steady situation; the twenty-eight senators,‡ of which it consisted, siding with the kings, when the people were grasping at too much power; and on the other hand espousing the interests of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus having thus tempered the government, those that came after him thought the power of the thirty, that composed the senate, still too strong and absolute; and therefore, as a check upon

* Plat. in vit. Lyc. p. 42.

† Ibid.

‡ This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.

them, they devised the authority of the Ephori,* about 130 years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five in number, and remained but one year in office. They were all chosen out of the people; and in that respect considerably resembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to the arresting and imprisoning the persons of their kings, as it happened in the case of Pausanias. The institution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus, whose wife reproaching him, that he would leave to his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it: on the contrary, said he, I shall leave it to them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting.

The Spartan government then was not purely monarchical. The nobility had a great share in it, and the people were not excluded. Each part of this body politic, in proportion as it contributed to the public good, found in it their advantage; so that in spite of the natural restlessness and inconstancy of man's heart, which is always thirsting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its disgust to uniformity, Lacedæmon persevered for many ages in the exact observance of her laws.

SECOND INSTITUTION. *The Division of the Lands, and the Prohibition of Gold and Silver Money.*

The second and the boldest institution of Lycurgus,† was the division of the lands, which he looked upon as absolutely necessary for establishing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The greater part of the people were so poor, that they had not one inch of land of their own, whilst a small number of individuals were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the country; in order therefore to banish insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other distempers of the state, still greater and more ancient than those, I mean extreme poverty and excessive wealth, he persuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no pre-eminence or honours should be given but to virtue and merit alone.

This scheme, extraordinary as it was, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Laconia into 30,000 parts, which he distributed among the inhabitants of the country; and the territories of Sparta into 9000 parts, which he distributed among an equal number of citizens. It is said, that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and passing through the lands of Laconia in the time of harvest, and observing, as he went along, the perfect equality of the sheaves of reaped corn, he turned towards those that were with him, and said smiling, *Does not Laconia look*

* The word signifies comptroller or inspector

† Plat. in vit. Lys. p. 44.

like the possessions of several brothers, who have just been dividing their inheritance amongst them?

After having divided their immoveables, he undertook likewise to make the same equal division of all their moveable goods and chattels, that he might utterly banish from among them all manner of inequality. But perceiving that this would meet with more opposition if he went openly about it, he endeavoured to effect it by sapping the very foundations of avarice. For first he cried down all gold and silver money, and ordained that no other should be current than that of iron, which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten minæ,* and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did was to banish all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, most of them would have sunk of themselves, and disappeared with the gold and silver money; because the tradesmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities; and this iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian states, who were so far from esteeming it, that it became the subject of their banter and ridicule.

THIRD INSTITUTION. *The Public Meals.*

LYCURGUS, being desirous to make war still more vigorously upon effeminacy and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. That he might entirely suppress all the magnificence and extravagance of expensive tables, he ordained, that all the citizens should eat together of the same common victuals, which were prescribed by law, and expressly forbade all private eating at their own houses.

By this institution of public and common meals, and this frugality and simplicity in eating, it may be said, that he made riches in some measure change their very nature, by putting them out of a condition of being desired or stolen; or of enriching their possessors; for there was no way left for a man to use or enjoy his opulence, or even to make any show of it; since the poor and the rich ate together in the same place, and none were allowed to appear at the public eating-rooms, after having taken care to fill themselves with other diet; because every body present took particular notice of any one that did not eat or drink, and the whole company were sure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him despise the common food and public table.

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation; and it was upon this occasion, that in a tumult of the people, a young man, named Alcander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. The people, provoked at such an outrage, delivered the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himself in a proper manner,

* Five hundred large French, about 20*l.* English. *Plut. in vit. Lysc. p. 45.*
 ; Τὸν πλουτίον δούλον, μέλλον δὲ δούλον, καὶ πλουτίον ἀνυπατάτο. *Plut.*

for, by the extraordinary kindness and gentleness with which he treated him, he made the violent and hot-headed youth in a little time become very moderate and wise.

The tables consisted of about fifteen persons each; where none could be admitted without the consent of the whole company. Each person furnished every month a bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a small sum of money for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one, without exception of persons, was obliged to be at the common meal: and a long time after the making of these regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taken the liberty to dispense with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished.

The very children were present at these public tables, and were carried thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they were sure to hear grave discourses upon government, and to see nothing but what tended to their instruction and improvement. The conversation was often enlivened with ingenious and sprightly raillery; but never intermixed with any thing vulgar or disgusting; and if their jesting seemed to make any person uneasy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their children were likewise trained up and accustomed to great secrecy: as soon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldest person of the company used to say to him, pointing to the door, *Nothing spoken here, must ever go out there.*

The most exquisite of all their dishes was what they called their *black broth*,* and the old men preferred it to every thing that was set upon the table. Dionysius the tyrant, when he was at one of these meals, was not of the same opinion; and what was a ragout to them, was to him very insipid:—I do not wonder at it, said the cook, for the seasoning is wanting;—What seasoning? replied the tyrant.—Running, sweating, fatigue, hunger, and thirst; these are the ingredients, says the cook, with which we season all our food.

OTHER ORDINANCES.

When I speak of the ordinances of Lycurgus,† I do not mean written laws; he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being persuaded, that the most powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impression made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens: for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immovable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a stronger and more durable tie than the yoke of necessity; and the youth that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legislators to themselves. These are the reasons

* Cic. *Tusc. Quest. lib. v. n. 33.*

† *Plut. vit. Lys. p. 47.*

why Lycurgus, instead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.

He looked upon the education of youth as the greatest and most important object of a legislator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the state than to their parents; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and caprice, but would have the state entrusted with the care of their education, in order to have them formed upon fixed and uniform principles, which might inspire them betimes with the love of their country and of virtue.

As soon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe visited him;* and if they found him well made, strong, and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and assigned him one of the 9000 portions of land for his inheritance;† if, on the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender, and weakly, so that they could not expect that he would ever have a strong and healthful constitution, they condemned him to perish, and caused the infant to be exposed.

Children were early accustomed not to be nice or difficult in their eating; not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone: not to give themselves up to peevishness and ill humour, to crying and bawling; to walk barefoot,‡ that they might be inured to fatigue; to lie hard at nights; to wear the same clothes winter and summer, in order to harden them against cold and heat.

At the age of seven years they were put into the classes,§ where they were brought up all together under the same discipline. Their education,|| properly speaking, was only an apprenticeship of obedience: the legislator having rightly considered, that the surest way to have citizens submissive to the law and to the magistrates, in which the good order and happiness of a state chiefly consists, was to teach children early, and to accustom them from their tender years, to be perfectly obedient to their masters and superiors.

While they were at table,¶ it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys by proposing them questions. They would ask them, for example, who is the most worthy man in the town? What do you think of such or such an action? The boys were obliged to give a quick or ready answer, which was also to be accompanied with a reason and a proof, both couched in few words: for they were accustomed betimes to the laconic style, that is, to a close and concise way of speaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and short; and a great deal of sense compressed in few words.

* Plat. vit. Lyc. p. 49.

† I do not comprehend how they could assign to every one of these children one of the 9000 portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the same? Did it never exceed 9000? It is not said in this case, as in the division of the holy land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it, and could not be entirely alienated.

‡ Xen. de Lac. rep. p. 677.

§ Plat. in Lyc. p. 50.

|| *ὅτι τὰ παιδία εἶναι μάλιστα ἀπειθαίεας.*

¶ Plat. in Lyc. p. 51.

As for literature,* they only learned as much as was necessary. All the sciences were banished out of their country; their study tended only to know how to obey, to bear hardship and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The superintendent of their education was one of the most honourable men of the city, and of the first rank and condition, who appointed over every class of boys masters of the most approved wisdom and probity.

There was one kind of theft only (and that too more a nominal than a real one) which the boys were allowed,† and even ordered, to practise. They were taught to slip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could, into the gardens and public halls, in order to steal away herbs or meat: and if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. We are told that one of them, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and suffered, without uttering a complaint, the animal to gnaw into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the spot. This kind of theft, as I have said, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; since it was authorised by the law and the consent of the citizens. The intent of the legislator in allowing it, was to inspire the Spartan youth, who were all designed for war, with greater boldness, subtilty, and address; to inure them betimes to the life of a soldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to shift for themselves. But I have already treated this matter more at large elsewhere.‡

The patience and constancy of the Spartan youth most conspicuously appeared in a certain festival,§ celebrated in honour of Diana; surnamed Orthia, where the children before the eyes of their parents, and in presence of the whole city,|| suffered themselves to be whipped till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddess, where sometimes they expired under the strokes, and all this without uttering the least cry, or so much as a groan or a sigh; and even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution. Plutarch assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes a great many children lose their lives at the celebration of these cruel rites. Hence it is, that Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon,¶ *Patiens Lacedæmon*; and another author makes a man who had received three strokes of a stick without complaining, say, *Tres plagas Spartana nobilitate concors*.

The most usual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting,** and other bodily exercises. They were forbidden to exercise any mechanic art. The Elotæ, who were a sort of slaves, tilled their land for them, and paid them a certain proportion of the produce.

* Plat. in *Lyc.* p. 32.

† Plat. vit. *Lyc.* p. 50. Idem in *Institut. Læcon.* p. 237.

‡ Of the method of teaching and studying the *Belles Lettres*, &c. vol. iii. p. 471.

§ Plat. p. 51.

|| Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. ii. n. 34.

¶ *Ode* vii. lib. 1.

** Plat. in vit. *Læcon.* p. 54.

Lycurgus was willing that his citizens should enjoy a great deal of leisure:* they had large common-halls, where the people used to meet to converse together: and though their discourses chiefly turned upon grave and serious topics, yet they seasoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and instructive. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees, always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant passion: they did not imagine they belonged to themselves, but to their country. Pædaretus, having missed the honour of being chosen one of the 300 who had a certain rank of distinction in the city, went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying, *He was overjoyed there were 300 men in Sparta more worthy than himself.*

At Sparta every thing tended to inspire the love of virtue and the hatred of vice;† the actions of the citizens, their conversations, and even their public monuments and inscriptions. It was hard for men, brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and examples, not to become virtuous, as far as heathens were capable of virtue. It was to preserve these happy dispositions, that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious customs of other countries, which would necessarily create in a little time an aversion for the mode of life and maxims of Lacedæmon. Neither would he suffer any strangers to remain in the city, who did not come thither to some useful or profitable end, but out of mere curiosity; being afraid they should bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries; and being persuaded, at the same time, that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of a city against depraved and corrupt manners, than against infectious distempers. Properly speaking, the very trade and business of the Lacedæmonians was war; every thing with them tended that way: arms were their only exercise and employment; their life was much less hard and austere in the camp than in the city; and they were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment; because then the reins of that strict and severe discipline which prevailed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and the men were indulged in a little more liberty. With them the first and most inviolable law of war,‡ as Demaratus told Xerxes, was, never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever superiority of numbers the enemy's army might consist of; never to quit their posts; never to deliver up their arms; in a word, either to conquer or to die. This maxim was so important and essential in their opinion,§ that when the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately; because they understood, that in one of his poems he had said, *It was better for a man to throw down his arms, than to expose himself to be killed.*

* Ibid. p. 53.

† Ibid. p. 56.

‡ Herod. l. vii. cap. 104.

§ Plut. in

Laced. institut. p. 239.

Hence it is,* that a mother recommended to her son, who was going to make a campaign, that he should return either with or upon his shield; and that another, hearing that her son was killed in fighting for his country, answered very coldly, *I brought him into the world for no other end.*† This temper of mind was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was so fatal to the Spartans, the parents of those that died in the action, congratulated one another upon it, and went to the temples to thank the gods that their children had done their duty; whereas the relations of those who survived the defeat, were inconsolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle, they were dishonoured and disgraced for ever. They were not only excluded from all posts and employments in the state, from all assemblies and public diversions; but it was reckoned scandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage: and a thousand affronts and insults were publicly offered them with impunity.

The Spartans never went to fight without first imploring the help of the gods by public sacrifices and prayers;‡ and when that was done they marched against the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of success, as being assured of the divine protection; and, to make use of Plutarch's expressions, *As if God were present with, and fought for them, &c τοῦ Θεοῦ συμπαρίστας.*

When they had broken and routed the enemy's forces,§ they never pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory; after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces and destroy an enemy that yielded and fled. And this proved as useful as it was honourable to the Spartans; for their enemies, knowing all who resisted them were put to the sword, and that they spared none but those that fled, generally chose rather to fly than to resist.

When the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice,|| and the form of government he had established seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself; as Plato says of God,¶ that after he had finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced, when he saw it revolve and perform its first motions with so much justness and harmony; so the Spartan legislator, pleased with the greatness and beauty of its laws, felt his joy and satisfaction redouble, when he saw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward so happily.

But desiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he signified to the people, that

* "Ἄλλη προαναδίδουσα τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ παρακαλεσμένην Τίμωρον (ἴφην) ἢ τὰν ἐπὶ τῇσιν. Plut. Lacon. apophthegm. p. 241. Sometimes they that were slain were brought home upon their shields.

† Cic. lib. i. Tusc. Quæst. n. 102. Plut. in vit. Ages. p. 612.

‡ Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 53.

§ Ibid. p. 54.

|| Ibid. p. 57.

¶ This passage of Plato is in his Timæus, and gives us reason to believe that this philosopher had read what Moses said of God when he created the world; *Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.* Gen. i. 31.

there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. When he was arrived at Delphi, he consulted the god, to know whether the laws he had made were good and sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The priestess answered, that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that, as long as Sparta observed them, she would be the most glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta; and then, thinking he had fulfilled his ministry, he voluntarily died at Delphi, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance. His notion was, that even the death of great persons and statesmen should not be useless and unprofitable to the state, but a kind of supplement to their ministry, and one of their most important actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the rest. He therefore thought, that in dying thus he should crown and complete all the services which he had rendered his fellow-citizens during his life; since his death would engage them to a perpetual observation of his institutions, which they had sworn to observe inviolably till his return.

Although I represent Lycurgus's sentiments upon his own death in the light wherein Plutarch has transmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them; and I make the same declaration with respect to several other facts of the like nature, which I sometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very unworthy of approbation. The pretended wise men among the heathens had, as well concerning this article as several others, but very faint and imperfect notions; or to speak more properly, remained in great darkness and error. They laid down this admirable principle, which we meet with in many of their writings, that man,* placed in the world as in a certain post by his general, cannot abandon it without the express command of him upon whom he depends, that is, of God himself. At other times, they looked upon man as a criminal condemned to a melancholy prison, from whence indeed he might desire to be released, but could not lawfully attempt to be so, but by the course of justice, and the order of the magistrate; and not by breaking his chains, and forcing the gates of his prison. These notions are beautiful, because they are true; but the application they made of them was wrong; by taking that for an express order of the Deity, which was the pure effect

* *Vetat Pythagoras, injussu imperatoris, id est Dei, de presidio et statione vitæ decedere. Cic. de senect. n. 73.*

Cato sic abiit è vitâ, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. *Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis Deus injussu hinc nos sue demigrare. Cùm verò causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, saepe multis; nã ille, medius fidius, vir sapiens, lectus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit. Nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vant: sed, tanquam à magistratu aut ab aliquâ potestate legitimâ, sic à Deo evocatus atque emissus exierit. Id. l. Tuscul. Quest. n. 74.*

of their own weakness or pride, by which they were led to put themselves to death, either that they might deliver themselves from the pains and troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the case with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

Reflections upon the Government of Sparta, and upon the Laws of Lycurgus.

I. *Things commendable in the Laws of Lycurgus.*

There must needs have been (to judge only by the event) a great fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus; since, as long as they were observed in Sparta (which was above 500 years,) it was a most flourishing and powerful city. It was not so much (says Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta,) the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercise of virtue: or rather, continues the same author, as the poets feign, that Hercules, only with his lion's skin and club, went from country to country to purge the world of robbers and tyrants; so Sparta, with a slip of parchment* and an old coat, gave laws to all Greece, which willingly submitted to her dominion; suppressed tyrannies and unjust authority in cities; put an end to wars, as she thought fit, and appeased insurrections; and all this generally without moving a shield or a sword, and only by sending a simple ambassador amongst them, who no sooner appeared, than all the people submitted, and flocked about him like so many bees about their monarch: so much respect did the justice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

1. *The nature of the Spartan government*

We find at the end of Lycurgus's life a reflection made by Plutarch, which of itself comprehends a great encomium upon that legislator. He there says, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all those who have treated of the establishment of a political state or government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus; with this difference, that they confined themselves wholly to words and theory: but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and speculative projects, did really and effectually institute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philosophers.

In order to succeed in this undertaking, and to establish the most

* This was what the Spartans called *scytale*, a thong of leather or parchment, which they twisted round a staff in such a manner, that there was no vacancy or void space left upon it. They wrote upon this thong, and when they had written they untwisted it, and sent it to the general for whom it was intended. This general, who had another stick of the same size with that on which the thong was twisted and written upon, wrapped it round that staff in the same manner, and by that means found out the connexion and arrangement of the letters, which otherwise were so displaced and out of order, that there was no possibility of their being read. *Plut. in vit. Lys. p. 444.*

perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down, as it were, and blended together, what he found best in every kind of government, and most conducive to the public good; thus tempering one species with another, and balancing the inconveniences to which each of them in particular is subject, with the advantages that result from their being united together. Sparta had something of the monarchical form of government, in the authority of her kings; the council of thirty, otherwise called the senate, was a true aristocracy; and the power vested in the people of nominating the senators, and of giving sanction to the laws, resembled a democratical government. The institution of the Ephori afterwards served to rectify what was amiss in those previous establishments, and to supply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires Lycurgus's wisdom in his institution of the senate, which was equally advantageous both to the kings and the people; because by this means,* the law became the only supreme mistress of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.

2. *Equal division of the lands: gold and silver banished from Sparta.*

The design formed by Lycurgus of making an equal distribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely banishing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, lawsuits, and dissensions, by abolishing the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a scheme of a commonwealth finely conceived in speculation, but utterly impracticable in execution, did not history assure us, that Sparta actually subsisted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the transaction I am now speaking of among the laudable part of Lycurgus's laws, I do not pretend it to be absolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can scarce be reconciled with that general law of nature, which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another: and yet this is what was really done upon this occasion. Therefore, in this affair of dividing the lands, I consider only so much of it as was truly commendable in itself, and worthy of admiration.

Can we possibly conceive, that a man could persuade the richest and most opulent inhabitants of a city to resign all their revenues and estates, to level and confound themselves with the poorest of the people; to subject themselves to a new way of living, both severe in itself, and full of restraint; in a word, to debar themselves of the use of every thing wherein the happiness and comfort of life is thought to consist? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an institution as this would have been less wonderful, had it subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but we know that it lasted many ages after his decease. Xenophon, in the encomium

* Νόμος ἐπὶ τῶν κύριος ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρώποις ἐδούλευεν ὁ νόμος. Plat. Epist. viii.

he has left us of Agesilaus, and Cicero, in one of his orations, observe, that Lacedæmon was the only city in the world that preserved her discipline and laws for so considerable a term of years unaltered and inviolate. *Soli*, said the latter,* speaking of the Lacedæmonians, *loto orbe terrarum septingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt*. I believe, however, that in Cicero's time the discipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminished; but all historians agree, that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lysander, though incapable himself of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immense sums of gold and silver, which were the fruit of his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the first wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the institutions of their legislator. It was the consequence of the violation of another law still more fundamental. Ambition was the vice that preceded, and made way for, avarice. The desire of conquests drew on that of riches, without which they could not propose to extend their dominions. The main design of Lycurgus, in the establishing his laws, and especially that which prohibited the use of gold and silver, was, as Polybius† and Plutarch have judiciously observed, to curb and restrain the ambition of his citizens; to disable them from making conquests, and in a manner to force them to confine themselves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretensions any farther. Indeed, the government which he established, was sufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for the raising her to a dominion over other cities.

The design, then, of Lycurgus was not to make the Spartans conquerors.‡ To remove such thoughts from his fellow-citizens, he expressly forbid them, though they inhabited a country surrounded with the sea, to meddle with maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or ever to fight upon the sea. They were religious observers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon that occasion they began to think of making themselves masters at sea, that they might be able to keep so formidable an enemy at the greater distance. But having soon perceived, that these maritime, remote commands, corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aside without any difficulty, as we shall observe, when we come to speak of king Pausanias.

When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with shields and lances,§ it was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend themselves against the invasions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and

* Pro. Flac. num. lxxii.

† Polyb. l. vi. p. 491.

‡ Plut. in moribus Laced.

p. 230.

§ Ibid. in vit. Lycurg. p. 50.

soldiers; but it was only that, under the shadow of their arms, they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, by being content with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded, that no city or state, any more than individuals, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness but from virtue only. Men of a depraved taste (says Plutarch* farther on the same subject,) who think nothing so desirable as riches and a large extent of dominion, may give the preference to those vast empires that have subdued and enslaved the world by violence; but Lycurgus was convinced, that a city had occasion for nothing of that kind, in order to be happy. His policy, which has justly been the admiration of all ages, had no farther views than to establish equity, moderation, liberty, and peace; and was an enemy to all injustice, violence, and ambition, and the passion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.

Such reflections as these, which Plutarch agreeably intersperses in his lives, and in which their greatest and most essential beauty consist, are of infinite use towards the giving us true notions, wherein consists the solid and true glory of a state that is really happy; as also to correct those false ideas which we are apt to form of the vain greatness of those empires which have swallowed up kingdoms, and of those celebrated conquerors who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and usurpation.

3. *The excellent education of their Youth.*

The long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly very wonderful: but the means he made use of to succeed therein are no less worthy of admiration. The principal of these was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and severe discipline: for (as Plutarch observes) the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infused his laws, as it were, into the minds and manners of the children, and made them suck in almost with their mother's milk an affection for his institutions. This was the reason why his principal ordinances subsisted above 500 years, having sunk into the very temper and hearts of the people, like a strong and good dye,† that penetrates thoroughly. Cicero makes the same remark, and ascribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their own natural disposition, as to their excellent education: *Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solum naturâ corroborata, verum etiam disciplinâ putatur.*‡ All this shows of what importance it is to a state to take care, that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

* Plut. in vit. Lyeurg. p. 59. et in vit. Agesil. p. 614.

† "Ποιῖς βαφῆς ἀγάρτου καὶ ἰσχυρὰς καθαρὰ μίμνης. Plat. Ep. iii.

‡ Orat. pro. Flac. n. 63.

The great maxim of Lycurgus, which Aristotle repeats in express terms,* was, that as children belong to the state, their education ought to be directed by the state, and the views and interests of the state only considered therein. It was for this reason he enacted, that they should be educated all in common, and not left to the humour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a soft and blind indulgence, and a mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tenderest years, they were inured to labour and fatigue by the exercises of hunting and racing, and accustomed betimes to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and, what is difficult to make mothers believe, all these hard and laborious exercises tended to procure them health, and make their constitutions the more vigorous and robust; able to bear the hardships and fatigues of war, for which they were all designed from their cradles.

4. Obedience.

But the most excellent thing in the Spartan education, was its teaching young people so perfectly well how to obey. It is from hence the poet Simonides gives that city such a magnificent epithet,† which denotes that they alone knew how to subdue the passions of men, and to render them pliant and submissive to the laws, in the same manner as horses are taught to obey the spur and the bridle, by being broken and trained while they are young. For this reason, Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta,‡ that they might learn there the noblest and greatest of all sciences, that is, how to command, and how to obey.

5. Respect towards the aged.

One of the lessons oftenest and most strongly inculcated upon the Lacedæmonian youth, was, to entertain great reverence and respect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occasions, by saluting them, by making way for them, and giving them place in the streets,§ by rising up to show them honour in all companies and public assemblies; but above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and submission: by these characteristics a Lacedæmonian was known wherever he came; if he had behaved otherwise, it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himself, and a dishonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into the theatre once to see a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a seat; but when he came near the place where the Spartan ambassadors and their retinue were sitting, they all rose up out of reverence to his age, and seated him in the midst of them.

* L. viii. Politic.

† Δρακσίμβορτος, that is to say, *Tamer of men*.

‡ Μαθησίμους των μαθημάτων τῶν κάλλιστον, ἀρχεῖναι καὶ ἀρχεῖν.

§ Plin. in Lacœd. Lucian. p. 237.

Lysander therefore had reason to say,* that old age had no where so honourable an abode as in Sparta, and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.

II. Things blamable in the laws of Lycurgus.

In order to perceive more clearly the defects in the laws of Lycurgus, we have only to compare them with those of Moses, which we know were dictated by more than human wisdom. But my design in this place is not to enter into a strict detail of the particulars wherein the laws of Lycurgus are faulty: I shall content myself with making only some slight reflections, which probably the reader has already anticipated, as he must have been justly disgusted by the mere recital of some of those ordinances.

1. The choice made of the children that were either to be brought up or exposed.

To begin, for instance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, which of them were to be brought up, and which exposed to perish; who would not be shocked at the unjust and inhuman custom of pronouncing sentence of death upon all such infants as had the misfortune to be born with a constitution that appeared too weak and delicate to undergo the fatigues and exercises to which the commonwealth destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and without example, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy, should ever alter as they grow up, and become in time of a robust and vigorous constitution? Or suppose it were so, can a man no way serve his country, but by the strength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wisdom, prudence, counsel, generosity, courage, magnanimity, and, in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and the intellectual faculties? *Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quarimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.*† Did Lycurgus himself render less service or do less honour, to Sparta, by establishing his laws, than the greatest generals did by their victories? Agesilaus was of so small a stature, and so mean in person, that at the first sight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing; and yet, little as he was, he made the great king of Persia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

But what is yet stronger than all I have said, has any other person a right or power over the lives of men, than He from whom they received them, even God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himself such a power without his commission? That precept of the

* *Lysandrum Lacedæmonium dicere aiunt solitum: Lacedæmone esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis.* Cic. *de sen.* n. 63. *Ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι κάλλιστα γηράσκει.*
 † *Cicer. l. i. de offic. n. 79. Ibid. n. 66*

Plut. in. Mor. p. 795

decatalogue, which was only a renewal of the law of nature, *Thou shalt not kill*, universally condemns all those among the ancients, who imagined they had a power of life and death over their slaves, and even over their own children.

2. *Their care confined only to the body.*

The great defect in Lyncurgus's laws (as Plato and Aristotle have observed) is, that they tended only to form a nation of soldiers. All that legislator's thoughts seemed wholly bent upon the means of strengthening the bodies of the people, without any concern for the cultivation of their minds. Why should he banish from his commonwealth all arts and sciences, which, besides many other advantages,* have this most happy effect, that they soften our manners, polish our understandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; such, in a word, as qualifies us for company and society, and makes the ordinary intercourse of life agreeable? Hence it came to pass, that there was something of a roughness and austerity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times even something of ferocity, a failing that proceeded chiefly from their education, and that rendered them disagreeable and offensive to all their allies.

3. *Their barbarous cruelty towards their children.*

It was an excellent practice in Sparta, to accustom their youth betimes to suffer heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and by several severe and laborious exercises to bring the body into subjection to reason,† whose faithful and diligent minister it ought to be in the execution of all her orders and injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all sorts of hardships and fatigues. But was it rational in them to carry their severity so far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? and was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers to see the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay, even to see them expiring under the lashes, without concern?

4. *The mothers' inhumanity.*

Some people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children slain in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of joy and satisfaction. For my part, I should think it much better that nature should show herself a little more on such occasions, and that the love of one's country should not utterly extinguish the sentiments of maternal tenderness. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of

* Omnes artes quibus etas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet. Cic. *Orat. pro Arch.*
† Exerendum corpus, et ita afficiendum est, ut obedire consilio rationique possit in exequendis negotiis labore tolerando. Lib. I. *de offi. n.* 79.

battle was told that his son was killed, spoke much more properly on the subject: *Let us at present think, said he, how to conquer the enemy; to-morrow I will mourn for my son.*

5. *Their excessive leisure.*

Nor can I see what excuse can be made for that law, imposed by Lycurgus upon the Spartans, which enjoined the spending the whole of their time, except when they were engaged in war, in idleness and inaction. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the slaves and strangers that lived amongst them, and put nothing into the hands of the citizens but the lance and the shield. Not to mention the danger there was in suffering the number of slaves that were necessary for tilling the land, to increase to such a degree as to become much greater than that of their masters, which was often an occasion of seditions and riots among them; how many disorders must men necessarily fall into, that have so much leisure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour? This is an inconvenience even now but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their injudicious education. Except in the time of war, most of our gentry spend their lives in a most useless and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts, and commerce, as beneath them, and derogatory to their gentility. They seldom know to handle any thing but their swords. As for the sciences, they take but a very small tincture of them; just so much as they cannot well be without; and many have not the least knowledge of them, nor any manner of taste for books or reading. We are not to wonder then, if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual visits and frivolous discourse, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men that have any parts or understanding!

* 6. *Their cruelty towards the Helots.*

Lycurgus would be utterly inexcusable if he gave occasion, as he is accused of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exercised towards the Helots in his republic. These Helots were slaves employed by the Spartans to till the ground. It was their custom not only to make these poor creatures drunk, and expose them before their children, in order to give them an abhorrence for so shameful and odious a vice, but they treated them also with the utmost barbarity, and thought themselves at liberty to destroy them by any violence or cruelty whatsoever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occasion related by Thucydides,* 2000 of these Helots disappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them. Plutarch pretends, this barbarous custom was not practised till after Lycurgus's time, and that he had no hand in it.

* Lib. iv.

7. *Modesty and decency entirely neglected.*

But that wherein Lycurgus appears to be most culpable, and what most clearly shows the prodigious enormities and gross darkness in which the Pagans were plunged, is the little regard he showed for modesty and decency, in what concerned the education of girls, and the marriages of young women; which was without doubt the source of those disorders that prevailed in Sparta, as Aristotle has wisely observed. When we compare these indecent and licentious institutions of the wisest legislator that ever profane antiquity could boast, with the sanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts, what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the Christian religion!

Nor will it give us a less advantageous notion of this pre-eminence, if we compare the most excellent and laudable part of Lycurgus's institutions with the laws of the Gospel. It is, we must own, a wonderful thing, that a whole people should consent to a division of their lands, which set the poor upon an equal footing with the rich; and that by a total exclusion of gold and silver, they should reduce themselves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legislator, when he enacted these laws, had the sword in his hand; whereas the Christian Legislator says but a word, *Blessed are the poor in spirit*, and thousands of the faithful through all succeeding generations, renounce their goods, sell their lands and estates, and leave all to follow Jesus Christ, their master, in poverty and want.

ARTICLE VIII.

The government of Athens. The laws of Solon. The history of that republic from the time of Solon to the reign of Darius the First.

I have already observed, that Athens was at first governed by kings. But they had little more than the name; for their whole power being confined to the command of the armies, vanished in time of peace. Every man was master in his own house, where he lived in an absolute state of independence. Codrus, the last king of Athens, having devoted himself to die for the public good, his sons Medon and Nibius quarrelled about the succession. The Athenians took this occasion to abolish the regal power, though it did not much incommode them; and declared, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens; at the very same time that the Jews,* weary of the theocracy, that is, of having the true God for their king, would absolutely have a man to reign over them.

Plutarch observes, that Homer, when he enumerates the ships of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of *people* to none but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred, that the Athenians, even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time vested in the people.

* Codrus was contemporary with Saul.

In the place of their kings they substituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of Archons. But this perpetual magistracy appeared still, in the eyes of this free people, as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were desirous of abolishing even the very shadow; for which reason, they first reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one: and this they did with a view of resuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferred to their magistrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not sufficient to restrain those turbulent spirits, who were grown excessively jealous of their liberty and independence, very tender and apt to be offended at any thing that seemed to encroach upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the least appearance of dominion or superiority. From hence arose continual factions and quarrels: there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her that she could preserve herself from ruin in the midst of those long and frequent dissensions, with which she had to struggle.

Misfortunes instruct. Athens learned, at length, that true liberty consists in a dependance upon justice and reason. This happy subjection could not be established, but by a legislator. She therefore pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and integrity. A. M. 3390. Ant. J. C. 624. It does not appear that Greece had, before his time, any written laws. He published some, whose rigour, anticipating, as it were, the Stoical doctrine, was so great, that it punished the smallest offence, as well as the most enormous crimes, equally with death. These laws of Draco, written, says Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had the same fate as usually attends all violent extremes. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehensions the accusers and witnesses were under of rendering themselves odious to the people; all these motives, I say, concurred to produce a remissness in the execution of the laws; which by that means, in process of time, became as it were abrogated through disuse: and thus an excessive rigour paved the way for impunity.

The danger of relapsing into their former disorders, made them have recourse to fresh precautions: for they were willing to slacken the curb and restraint of fear, but not to break it. In order therefore to find out mitigations, which might make amends for what they took away from the letter of the law, they cast their eyes upon A. M. 3400. Ant. J. C. 604. one of the wisest and most virtuous persons of his age, I mean Solon; whose singular qualities, and especially his great mildness, had acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city.

His chief application had been to the study of philosophy, and especially to that part of it which we call politics, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary merit gave him one of the first ranks among the seven sages of Greece, who rendered the age we are speaking of so illustrious. These sages often paid visits to one another.* One day that Solon went to Miletus to see Thales, the first thing he said to him was, that he wondered why he had never chosen to have either wife or children. Thales made him no answer then: but a few days after he contrived that a stranger should come into their company, and pretend that he was just arrived from Athens, from whence he had set out about ten days before. Solon asked him, if there was no news at Athens when he came away. The stranger, who had been taught his lesson, replied, that he had heard of nothing but the death of a young gentleman, whose funeral was attended by all the town; because, as they said, he was the son of the worthiest man in the city, who was then absent.—Alas! cried Solon, interrupting the man's story; how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! But pray, what is the gentleman's name?—I heard his name, replied the stranger, but I have forgotten it: I only remember, that the people talked much of his wisdom and justice.—Every answer afforded new cause of anxiety and terror to the inquiring father, who was so justly alarmed.—Was it not, said he at length, the son of Solon?—The very same, replied the stranger. Solon at these words rent his clothes, and beat his breast, and, expressing his sorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himself to the most sensible affliction. Thales, seeing this, took him by the hand, and said to him with a smile: Comfort yourself, my friend; all that has been told to you, is a mere fiction. Now you see the reason why I never married: it is because I am unwilling to expose myself to such trials and afflictions.

Plutarch has given us a large refutation of Thales's reasoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the most natural and reasonable attachments in life, in lieu of which the heart of man will not fail to substitute others of an unjust and unlawful nature, which will expose him to the same pains and inconveniences. The remedy, says this historian, against the grief that may arise from the loss of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our estates, and reduce ourselves to poverty, to make an absolute renunciation of all friendship, or to confine ourselves to a state of celibacy; but upon all such accidents and misfortunes, to make a right use of our reason.

Athens,† after some interval of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warrior as he was a statesman, relapsed into her former dissensions about the government of the commonwealth, and was divided into as many different parties, as there were sorts of inhabitants in Attica. For those that lived upon the mountains, were fond

* Plut. in Solon. p. 81, 82

† Plut. in Solon. p. 83, 84.

of popular government; those in the low-lands were for an oligarchy; and those that dwelt on the sea-coasts, were for having a mixed government, composed of those two forms blended together and these hindered the other two contending parties from getting any ground of each other. Besides these, there was a fourth party which consisted only of the poor, who were grievously harassed and oppressed by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party was determined to choose themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the inhuman severity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new division of the lands.

In this extreme danger all the wise Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, who was obnoxious to neither party; because he had never sided either with the injustice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they solicited him very earnestly to take the management of affairs, and to endeavour to put an end to these differences and disorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him so dangerous a commission: however, he was at last chosen Archon, and was constituted supreme arbiter and legislator, with the unanimous consent of all parties; the rich liking him, as he was rich; and the poor, because he was honest. He now had it in his power to make himself king: several of the citizens advised him to it; and even the wisest among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reason to bring about a favourable change consistent with the laws, were not unwilling that the supreme power should be vested in one man, who was so eminently distinguished for his prudence and justice. But, notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made to him, and all the solicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refusal of the diadem as an effect of pusillanimity and meanness of spirit, he was still firm and unchangeable in his purpose, and thought only of settling a form of government in his country, that should be the parent of a just and reasonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders and evils which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations or changes, than such as he thought he could persuade the citizens to comply with, by the influence of reason; or bring them into, by the weight of his authority; wisely mixing, as he himself said, authority and power with reason and justice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the laws which he had made for the Athenians, were the best that could be given them; *Yes*, said he, *the best they were capable of receiving*.

The soul of popular states is equality. But, for fear of disgusting the rich, Solon durst not propose any equality of lands and wealth; whereby Attica, as well as Laconia, would have resembled a paternal inheritance divided among a number of brethren. However, he went so far as to put an end to the slavery and oppression of those poor citizens, whose excessive debts and accumulated ar-

years had forced them to sell their persons and liberty, and reduce themselves to a state of servitude and bondage. An express law was made, which declared all debtors discharged and acquitted of all their debts.

This affair drew Solon into a troublesome scrape,* which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he first determined to cancel the debts, he foresaw, that such an edict, which had something in it contrary to justice, would be extremely offensive. For which reason, he endeavoured in some measure to rectify the tenor of it, by introducing it with a specious preamble, which set forth a great many very plausible pretexts, and gave a colour of equity and reason to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he first disclosed his design to some particular friends, whom he used to consult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms in which this edict should be expressed. Now, before it was published, his friends, who were more interested than faithful, secretly borrowed large sums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in purchasing of lands, as knowing they would not be affected by the edict. When the edict was published, the general indignation, that was raised by such a base and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, though in fact he had no hand in it. But it is not enough for a man in office to be disinterested and upright himself; all that surround and approach him ought to be so too; wife, relations, friends, secretaries, and servants. The faults of others are charged to his account: all the wrongs, all the rapine, that may be committed either through his negligence or connivance, are justly imputed to him; because it is his business, and one of the principal designs of his being put into such trust, to prevent those corruptions and abuses.

This ordinance at first pleased neither of the two parties; it disgusted the rich, because it abolished the debts; and dissatisfied the poor, because it did not ordain a new division of the lands, as they had expected, and as Lycurgus had actually effected at Sparta. But Solon's influence at Athens fell very short of that which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wisdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity, had procured him.

However, in a little time afterwards, this ordinance was generally approved, and the same powers as before were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws that had been made by Draco, except those against murder. The reason of his doing this, was the excessive rigour of those laws, which inflicted death alike upon all sorts of offenders; so that they who were convicted of sloth and idleness, or they that had stolen only a few herbs or a little fruit out of a garden, were as severely punished as those that were guilty of murder or sacrilege.

* *Plut. in Solon. p. 87.*

He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reason he distributed the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to the difference of their incomes and revenues, and according to the value and estimation of each particular man's estate. Those that were found to have 500 measures *per annum*, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the first rank; those that had 300 were placed in the second; and those that had but 200 made up the third.

All the rest of the citizens, whose income fell short of 200 measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were never admitted into any employments.* But, in order to make amends for this exclusion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the assemblies and judgments of the people; which at first seemed to be a matter of little consequence, but in time became extremely advantageous, and made them masters of all the affairs of the city; for most of the law-suits and differences were ultimately referred to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgments of the magistrates; and in the assemblies of the people the greatest and most important affairs of the state, relating to peace or war, were also determined.

The Areopagus, so called from the place where its assemblies were held,† had been a long time established. Solon restored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the supreme court of judicature, a general inspection and superintendency over all affairs, as also the care of causing the laws (of which he made that body the guardian) to be observed and put in execution. Before his time, the citizens of the greatest probity and worth were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the first that thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity, except such as had passed through the office of archon. Nothing was so august as this senate;‡ and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.

Nothing was regarded or attended to here, but truth alone; and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make use of any exordium, digression, or peroration.

Solon, to prevent as much as possible the abuse which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a second council, consisting of 400 men, 100 out of every tribe; and ordered all causes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were proposed to the gene-

* Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

† This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, called Areopagus, that is to say, the Hill of Mars; because it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Halirrothius, the son of Neptune.

‡ Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1. Lucian in Hermot. p. 505. Quintil. l. vi. c. 1.

ral assembly of the people; to the judgment of which the sentiments of the other were to submit, and to which alone belonged the right of giving a final sentence and decision. It was upon this subject that Anacharsis (whom the reputation of the sages of Greece had brought from the heart of Scythia) said one day to Solon, *I wonder you should empower wise men only to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and decision of them wholly to fools.*

Upon another occasion, when Solon was conversing with him upon some other regulations he had in view, Anacharsis, astonished that he could expect to succeed in his designs of restraining the avarice and injustice of the citizens by written laws, answered him in this manner: *Give me leave to tell you, that these written laws are just like spiders' webs: the weak and small may be caught and entangled in them; but the rich and powerful will break through them and despise them.*

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very sensible of the inconveniences that attend a democracy, or popular government: but, having thoroughly studied, and being perfectly well acquainted with, the character and disposition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take the sovereignty out of the people's hands; and that if they parted with it at one time, they would soon resume it at another by force and violence. He therefore contented himself with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus and the council of Four Hundred; judging, that the state, being supported and strengthened by these two powerful bodies, as by two good anchors, would not be so liable to commotions and disorders as it had been, and that the people would enjoy more tranquillity.

I shall mention only some of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the rest. In the first place,* every particular person was authorised to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured and insulted; so that the first owner might prosecute the offender, and bring him to justice for the outrage he had committed.

The design of this wise legislator by this ordinance was, to accustom his citizens to have a fellow-feeling of one another's sufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the same body.

By another law,† these persons that in public differences and dissensions did not declare themselves of one party or other, but waited to see how things would go before they determined, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have all their estates confiscated. Solon had learnt, from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the powerful, and even the wise and virtuous, are usually the most backward to expose themselves to the inconveniences which public dissensions and troubles produce in so-

* Plot. in Solon. p. 62.

† Ibid. p. 80.

ciety; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them so vigilant and active in the defence of it, as the passions of the factious render them industrious to destroy it; that the right side being thus abandoned by those that are capable of giving more weight, authority, and strength to it by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to grapple with the audacious and violent enterprises of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortune, which may be attended with the most fatal consequences to a state, Solon judged it proper to force the well affected, by the fear of greater inconveniences to themselves, to declare at the very beginning of any commotion, for the party that was in the right, and to animate the spirit and courage of the best citizens by engaging with them in the common danger. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almost as an enemy and a traitor, that should appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at, the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and sure resource against the sudden enterprises of wicked and profligate citizens.

Solon abolished the giving of portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters;* and ordered that the bride should carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of clothes, and some household goods of little value: for he would not have matrimony become a traffic, and a mere commerce of interest; but desired, that it should be regarded as an honourable fellowship and society, in order to raise subjects to the state, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniously together, and to give continual testimony of mutual love and tenderness to each other.

Before Solon's time, the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills: the wealth of the deceased always devolved upon his children and family. Solon's law allowed every one that was childless, to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit; preferring by that means friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint, and rendering every man truly master of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to bestow it where he pleased. This law however did not authorise indifferently all sorts of donations: it justified and approved of none but those that were made freely and without any compulsion; without having the mind distempered and intoxicated by potions or charms, or perverted and seduced by the allurements and caresses of a woman; for this wise lawgiver was justly persuaded, that there is no difference to be made between being seduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleasure and pain, in the same light, when they are made use of as means to impose upon men's reason, and to captivate the liberty of their understandings.

Another regulation he made was to lessen the rewards of the

* *Plut. in Solon. p. 28.*

victors at the Isthmian and Olympic games,* and to fix them at a certain value, viz. 100 drachmas, which make about two pounds, for the first sort; and 500 drachmas, or about ten pounds, for the second. He thought it a shameful thing, that athletes and wrestlers, a sort of people not only useless, but often dangerous to the state, should have any considerable rewards allotted them, which ought rather to be reserved for the families of those persons who died in the service of their country; it being very just and reasonable, that the state should support and provide for such orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.

In order to encourage arts, trades, and manufactures, the senate of the Areopagus was charged with the care of inquiring into the ways and means that every man made use of to gain his livelihood, and of chastising and punishing all those who led an idle life. Besides the forementioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flourishing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reasons still more important.

First, Solon considered, that such persons as have no fortune, and make use of no methods of industry to gain their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjust and unlawful means for acquiring money; and that the necessity of subsisting some way or other disposes them for committing all sorts of misdemeanours, rapine, knaveries, and frauds; from which springs up a school of vice in the bosom of the commonwealth; and such a leaven gains ground, as does not fail to spread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

In the second place, the most able statesmen have always looked upon these indigent and idle people as a troop of dangerous, restless, and turbulent spirits, eager after innovation and change, always ready for seditions and insurrections, and interested in revolutions of the state, by which alone they can hope to change their own situation and fortune. It was for all these reasons, that in the law we are speaking of, Solon declared, that a son should not be obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had not taken care to have his son brought up to some trade or occupation. All children that were spurious and illegitimate, were exempted from the same duty: for it is evident, says Solon, that whoever thus contemns the dignity and sanctity of matrimony, has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propose to ourselves in having children, but only the gratification of a loose passion. Having then satisfied his own desires, he has no proper right over the persons who may spring from this disgraceful intercourse, upon whose lives, as well as births, he has entailed an indelible infamy and reproach.

It was prohibited to speak any ill of the dead:† because religion directs us to account the dead as sacred, justice requires us to spare

Plut. p. 81. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

† Plut. in Solon. p. 82.

those that are no more, and good policy should hinder hatred from becoming immortal.

It was also forbidden to affront or give ill language to any body in the temples, in courts of judicature, in public assemblies, and in the theatres, during the time of representation: for to be no where able to govern our passions and resentments, argues too untractable and licentious a disposition; as, on the other hand, to restrain them at all times, and upon all occasions, is a virtue beyond the strength of mere human nature, and a perfection reserved for the evangelical law.

Cicero observes, that this wise legislator of Athens, whose laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law against parricide; and being asked the reason why he had not, he answered: *That to make laws against, and ordain punishments for, a crime that hitherto had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it.** I omit several of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifest contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkness, knowledge and error, which we generally find even among the very wisest of the heathens, who had no established principles.

After Solon had published his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to observe them religiously, at least for the term of 100 years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather strength by custom; as also to rid himself of the trouble and importunity of those who came to consult him about the meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and ill-will of others: for, as he said himself, in great undertakings it is hard (if not impossible) to please all parties. He was absent ten years, in which interval of time we are to place his journeys into Egypt, into Lydia, to visit king Croesus, and into several other countries. At his return he found the whole

city in commotion and trouble;† the three old factions were revived, and had formed three different parties. Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low-lands; Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, was the leader of the inhabitants upon the seacoast; and Pisistratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were joined the handicraftsmen and labourers who lived by their industry, and who were particularly hostile to the rich: of these three leaders the two latter were the most powerful and considerable.

Megacles was the son of that Alcmaeon whom Croesus had extremely enriched for a particular service which he had done him.‡ He had likewise married a lady, who had brought him an immense portion: her name was Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Clisthenes was the richest and most opulent prince at this time in Greece. In order to be able to choose a worthy

* *Sapienter fecisse dicitur, cum de eo nihil sanxerit, quod antea commissum non erat, non tam prohibere quam admonere, videretur. Pro Rosc. Amer. n. 70.*

† *Plut. in Solon. p. 94.*

‡ *Herod. lib. vi. c. 125—131.*

son-in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character, from his own experience, Clisthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and spend a year with him at his house; for this was an ancient custom in that country. Several youths accepted the invitation, and came from different parts, to the number of thirteen. Nothing was seen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and conversations upon all sorts of topics. One of the gentlemen, who had hitherto surpassed all his competitors, lost the princess, by having made use of some indecent gestures and postures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Clisthenes, at the end of the year, declared for Megacles, and sent the rest of the noblemen away, loaden with civilities and presents. Such was Megacles.

Pisistratus was a well-bred man,* of a gentle and insinuating behaviour, ready to succour and assist the poor;† prudent and moderate towards his enemies; a most artful and accomplished dissembler; and one who had all the exterior of virtue, even beyond the most virtuous; who seemed to be the most zealous stickler for equality among the citizens, and who absolutely declared against all innovations and change.

It was not very hard for him to impose upon the people with all this artifice and address. But Solon quickly saw through his disguise, and perceived the drift of all his seeming virtue and fair pretences; however, he thought fit to observe measures with him in the beginning, hoping, perhaps, by gentle methods to bring him back to his duty.

It was at this time‡ Thespis began to change the Grecian tragedy:§ I say change; because it was invented long before. This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the rest for the sake of hearing Thespis, who acted himself, according to the custom of the ancient poets. When the play was ended, he called to Thespis, and asked him, *Whether he was not ashamed to utter such lies before so many people?* Thespis made answer, *That there was no harm in lies of that sort, and in poetical fictions, which were made only for diversion.*—No, replied Solon, giving a great stroke with his stick upon the ground; *but if we suffer and approve of lying for our own diversion, it will quickly find its way into our serious engagements, and all our business and affairs.*

In the mean time Pisistratus still pushed on his point; and, in order to accomplish it, made use of a stratagem that succeeded as

* Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

† We are not here to understand such as begged or asked alms: for in those times, says Isocrates, there was no citizen that died of hunger, or dishonoured his city by begging. *Orat. Areop.* p. 309.

‡ Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

§ Tragedy was in being a long time before Thespis; but it was only a chorus of persons that sang, and said opprobrious things to one another. Thespis was the first that improved this chorus by the addition of a character, who, in order to give the rest time to take breath, and to recover their spirits, recited an adventure of some illustrious person. And this recital gave occasion afterwards for introducing the subjects of tragedies.

well as he could expect.* He gave himself several wounds;† and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he caused himself to be carried in a chariot into the market-place, where he inflamed the populace, by giving them to understand that his enemies had treated him in that manner, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the public good.

An assembly of the people was immediately convened: and there it was resolved, in spite of all the remonstrances Solon could make against it, that fifty guards should be allowed Pisistratus for the security of his person. He soon augmented the number as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himself master of the citadel. All his enemies betook themselves to flight, and the whole city was in great consternation and disorder, except Solon, who loudly reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being asked what it was that gave him so much firmness and resolution? *It is*, said he, *my old age*. He was indeed very old, and did not seem to risk much, as the end of his life was very near: though it often happens, that men grow fonder of life, in proportion as they have less reason and right to desire it should be prolonged. But Pisistratus, after he had subdued all, thought this conquest imperfect till he had gained Solon: and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to conciliate an old man, he spared no caresses, omitted nothing that could tend to soften and win upon him, and showed him all possible marks of friendship and esteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his person, and publicly professing a great veneration for his laws; which in truth he both observed himself, and caused to be observed by others. Solon, seeing it was impossible either to bring Pisistratus by fair means to renounce this usurpation, or to depose him by force, thought it a point of prudence not to exasperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him, and hoped, at the same time, that by entering into his confidence and counsels, he might at least be capable of conducting and turning into a proper channel a power which he could not abolish, and of mitigating the mischief and calamity that he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not survive the liberty of his country two years complete: for Pisistratus made himself master of Athens, under the archon Comias, the first year of the 51st Olympiad; and Solon died the year following, under the archon Hegestratus, who succeeded Comias.

The two parties, the heads of which were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of Athens. He was, however, soon recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference, that arose upon occasion of this match, having embroiled them afresh, the Alcmaeonidæ had the worst, and were

* Herod. l. i. c. 59—64.

† Plat. in Solon. p. 93, 96.

obliged to retire. Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself. His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintained him in it; and without doubt his eloquence,* which even in Tully's judgment was very great, rendered him very acceptable to the Athenians, who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of oratory, as it made them forget the care of their liberty. An exact submission to the laws distinguished Pisistratus from most other usurpers: and the mildness of his government was such as might make many a lawful sovereign blush. For which reason, the character of Pisistratus has been thought worthy of being set in opposition to that of other tyrants. Cicero, doubting what use Cæsar would make of his victory at Pharsalia, wrote to his dear friend Atticus, *We do not yet know, whether the destiny of Rome will have us groan under a Phalaris, or live under a Pisistratus.*†

This tyrant, indeed, if we are to call him so, always showed himself very popular and moderate; and had such a command of his temper,‡ as to bear reproaches and insults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word. His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens;§ in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. It is said, he was the first who opened a public library in Athens,|| which after his time was much augmented, and at last carried into Persia by Xerxes, when he took the city. But Seleucus Nicanor, a long time afterwards, caused it to be brought back to Athens. Cicero¶ thinks also it was Pisistratus who first made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer; who arranged the books in the order in which we now find them, whereas before they were confused, and not digested; and who first caused them to be publicly read at the feasts called Panathenæa. Plato ascribes this honour to his son Hipparchus.**

Pisistratus died in tranquillity,†† and transmitted to his sons the sovereign power, which he had usurped thirty years before; seventeen of which he had reigned in peace.

Æ M. 3478. His sons were Hippias and Hipparchus. Thucydides Ant. J. C. 598. adds a third, whom he calls Thessalus. They seem to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to Hipparchus what we have said concerning the poems of Homer,‡‡ adds, that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he sent a vessel of fifty oars on purpose for him. He likewise entertained at his house Simonides, another famous poet of the isle of

* Pisistratus d'onde tantum valuisse dicitur, ut ei Athenienses regium imperium oratione capiti permitterent. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

Quis doctior illorum temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia liberis instructior fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? Nic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 137.

† Incertum est Phalarisne, an Pisistratum, sit imitaturus. Ad Attic. l. vii. Ep. xix.

‡ Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

§ Athen. l. xii. p. 532.

|| Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 17

¶ Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 137.

** In Hipparch. p. 226.

Rep. c. 12.

†† In Hip. p. 226, 229.

†† Arist. lib. v. de

Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the *Ægean sea*, to whom he gave a large pension, and made very rich presents. The design of these princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, says Plato, to soften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuse into them a relish and love for virtue, by giving them a taste for learning and the sciences. Their care extended even to the instructing of the peasants and country people, by erecting, not only in the streets of the city, but in all the roads and highways, statues of stone, called *Mercuries*, with grave sentences and moral maxims carved upon them; in which manner those silent monitors gave instructive lessons to all passengers. Plato seems to suppose that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. But Thucydides shows,* that Hippias, as the eldest of the sons, succeeded his father in the government.

Be this as it may, their reign in the whole, after the death of Pisistratus, was only of eighteen years' duration: it ended in the following manner.

Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship.† Hipparchus, angry with the former for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, endeavoured to revenge himself upon his sister, by putting a public affront upon her, obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn procession, in which she was to carry one of the sacred baskets, alleging, that she was not in a fit condition to assist at such a ceremony. Her brother, and still more his friend, being stung to the quick by so gross and outrageous an affront, took from that moment a resolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a festival, which they judged would be very favourable for their purpose: this was the feast of the *Panathenæa*, in which the ceremony required that all the tradesmen and artificers should be under arms. For the greater security, they admitted only a very small number of the citizens into their secret; conceiving, that upon the first motion all the rest would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hippias came out of the palace, and went to the *Ceramicus*, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were, to give the necessary orders for the ceremony. The two friends having followed him thither, saw one of the conspirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betrayed. They could have executed their design that moment upon Hippias; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city, where, meeting with Hipparchus, they killed him; but being immediately apprehended, themselves were slain, and Hippias found means to dispel the storm.

After this affair, he no longer observed any measures, and reigned

* *Lib. vi. p. 448.*

† *Thucyd. l. vi. p. 448—450.*

like a true tyrant, putting to death a vast number of citizens. To guard himself for the future against a like enterprise, and to secure a safe retreat for himself, in case of any accident, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a foreign support, and to that end gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsacus.

In the mean time,* the Alcmeonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, and who saw their hopes frustrated by the bad success of the last conspiracy, did not however lose courage, but turned their views another way. As they were very rich and powerful, they got themselves appointed by the Amphictyons, who constituted the general council of Greece, to superintend the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, for the sum of 300 talents, or 300,000 crowns.† As they were naturally generous, and had besides their reasons for being so on this occasion, they added to this sum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole front of the temple all of Parian marble, at their particular expense; whereas by the contract made with the Amphictyons, it was only to have been made of common stone.

The liberality of the Alcmeonidæ was not altogether a free bounty; neither was their magnificence towards the god of Delphi a pure effect of religion: policy was the chief motive. They hoped by this means to acquire great influence in the temple, and it happened according to their expectation. The money, which they plentifully poured into the hands of the priestess, rendered them absolute masters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who presided over it, and who for the future becoming their echo, did no more than faithfully repeat the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the assistance of his voice and authority. As often therefore as any Spartan came to consult the priestess, whether upon his own affairs or upon those of the state, no promise was ever made him of the god's assistance, but upon condition that the Lacedæmonians should deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was so often repeated to them by the oracle, that they resolved at last to make war against the Pisistratidæ, though they were under the strongest engagements of friendship and hospitality with them. herein preferring the will of God, says Herodotus, to all human considerations.‡

The first attempt of this kind miscarried; and the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss. Notwithstanding, a little time after they made a second, which seemed to promise no better success than the first; because most of the Lacedæmonians, seeing the siege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired, and left only a small number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's children, who had been clandestinely conveyed out of the city, in order to be put in a safe place, being taken

* Herod. l. v. c. 62—66.

† About 40,000*l.* sterling.

‡ Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ παροβήματα πρὸς πάντας, ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

by the enemy, the father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was stipulated, that he should depart out of Attica in five days' time. According-
 A. M. 3496. ly, he actually retired within the time limited, and set-
 Ant. J. C. 508. tled at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, seated at the mouth of the river Scamander.

Pliny observes,* that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the same year the kings were expelled Rome. Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their names were infinitely respected at Athens in all succeeding ages, and almost held in equal reverence with those of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour that had never been conferred on any man before. The very sight of these statues, exposed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and detestation of tyranny, and daily renewed their sentiments of gratitude to those generous defenders of their liberty, who had not scrupled to purchase it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood. Alexander the Great,† who knew how dear the memory of these men was to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal in this respect, thought he did them a sensible pleasure in sending back to them the statues of those two great men, which he found in Persia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes had formerly carried thither from Athens. Pausanias ascribes this action to Seleucus Nicanor, one of the successors of Alexander; and adds, that he also sent back to the Athenians their public library, which Xerxes had carried off with him into Persia. Athens,‡ at the time of her deliverance from tyranny, did not confine her gratitude solely to the authors of her liberty, but extended it even to a woman who had signalized her courage on that occasion. This woman was a courtesan, named Leæna, who by the charms of her beauty, and skill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius and Aristogiton. After their death, the tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this woman, caused her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conspirators. But she bore all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible constancy, and expired in the midst of them; showing the world that her sex is more courageous, and more capable of keeping a secret, than some men imagine. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to be lost; and, to prevent the lustre of it from being sullied by the consideration of her character as a courtesan, they endeavoured to conceal that circumstance, by representing her in the statue which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioness without a tongue.

Plutarch, in the life of Aristides,§ relates a circumstance which does great honour to the Athenians, and shows to what a pitch they

* Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.

† Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 8.

‡ Id. l. vii. c. 23. l. xxxiv. c. 8.

§ Page 333.

carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their respect for his memory. They had learned that the granddaughter of Aristogiton lived at Lemnos, in very mean and poor circumstances, nobody being willing to marry her upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens sent for her, and, marrying her to one of the most rich and considerable men of their city, gave her an estate in land in the town of Potamos for her portion.

Athens seemed, in recovering her liberty, to have also recovered her pristine courage. During the reigns of her tyrants, she had acted with indolence and indifference, as knowing what she did was not for herself, but for them. But after her deliverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity she exerted was of a quite different kind; because then her labours were her own.

Athens, however, did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Clisthenes, one of the Alcæonidæ, and Isagoras, who were men of the greatest power in the city, by contending with each other for superiority, created two considerable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his side, made an alteration in the form of their establishment, and instead of four tribes, whereof they consisted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the names of the ten sons of Ion, whom the Greek historians make the father and first founder of the nation. Isagoras, seeing himself inferior in credit to his rival, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, obliged Clisthenes to depart from Athens, with 700 families of his adherents. But they soon returned with their leader, and were restored to all their estates and fortunes.

The Lacedæmonians, stung with spite and jealousy against Athens, because she took upon her to act independent of their authority; and repenting also that they had delivered her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had since discovered the imposture, began to think of reinstating Hippias, one of the sons of Pisistratus; and to that end sent for him from Sigæum, whither he had retired. They then communicated their designs in an assembly of the deputies of their allies, whose assistance and concurrence they were anxious to secure, in order to render their enterprise successful.

The deputy of Corinth spoke first on this occasion, and expressed great astonishment that the Lacedæmonians, who were themselves avowed enemies of tyranny, and professed the greatest abhorrence for all arbitrary government, should desire to establish it elsewhere: he exposed to their view, in the fullest light, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical government, which his own country, Corinth, had but very lately felt by woful experience. The rest of the deputies applauded his discourse, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterprise came to nothing; and had no other effect than to discover the base jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, and to cover them with shame and confusion.

Hippias, defeated of his hopes, retired into Asia to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured by every method to engage in a war against Athens; representing to him, that the taking of so rich and powerful a city would render him master of all Greece. Artaphernes hereupon required of the Athenians that they would reinstate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other answer, than by a downright and absolute refusal. This was the original ground and occasion of the wars between the Persians and the Greeks, which will be the subject of the following volumes.

ARTICLE IX.

Illustrious men who distinguished themselves in the arts and sciences.

I begin with the poets, as the most ancient.

HOMER, the most celebrated and illustrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the least knowledge, either with respect to the country where he was born, or the time in which he lived. Among the seven cities of Greece that contended for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna, seems to have the best title to that glorious distinction.

A. M. 3160. Herodotus tells us,* that Homer wrote 400 years
Ant. J. C. 844. before his time, that is, 340 years after the taking of Troy; for Herodotus flourished 740 years after that expedition.

Some authors have pretended that he was called Homer, because he was born blind. Velleius Paterculus rejects this story with contempt. *If any man,† says he, believes that Homer was born blind, he must be so himself, and even have lost all his senses.* Indeed, according to the observation of Cicero,‡ Homer's works are rather pictures than poems, so perfectly does he paint to the life, and set the images of every thing he undertakes to describe before the eyes of the reader; and he seems to have been intent upon introducing all the most delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords into his writings, and making them in a manner pass in review before his readers.

What is most astonishing in this poet is,§ that being the first, at least of those that are known, who applied himself to that kind of poetry which is the most sublime and difficult of all, he should however soar so high and with such rapidity, as to carry it at once to the utmost perfection; which seldom or never happens in other arts, but by slow degrees, and after a long series of years.

* Lib. ii. c. 53.

† Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est. *Paterc.* l. i. c. 5.

‡ Tuscul. Quæst. l. v. n. 114.

§ Clarissimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, sine exemplo, maximum: qui magnitudine operis, et fulgore carminum, solus appellari Poëta meruit. In quo hoc maximum est, quod neque ante illum quem ille imitaretur; neque post illum, qui imitari eum possent, inventus est: neque quemquam alium, cujus operis primus auctor fuerit, in eo perfectissimum, præter Homerum et Archilochum reperimus. *Vell. Paterc.* l. i. c. 5.

The kind of poetry we are speaking of is the Epic Poem so, called from the Greek word *ἔπος*; because it is an action related by the poet. The subject of this poem must be great, instructive, serious, containing only one principal event, to which all the rest must refer and be subordinate; and this principal action must have passed in a certain space of time, which must not exceed a year at most.

Homer has composed two poems of this kind, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; the subject of the first is the anger of Achilles, so pernicious to the Greeks, when they besieged Ilium, or Troy; and that of the second is the voyages and adventures of Ulysses, after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable, that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have all taken their plans and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only succeeded in proportion to their success in copying him. The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and fit for others to be formed upon: *Fons ingeniorum Homerus*.*

All the greatest men, and the most exalted geniuses that have appeared for these two thousand and five or six hundred years in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere; those whose writings we are still forced to admire; who are still our masters, and who teach us to think, to reason, to speak, and to write; all these, says Madame Dacier,† acknowledge Homer to be the greatest of poets, and look upon his poems as the model on which all succeeding poets should form their taste and judgment. After all this, can there be any man so conceited of his own talents, be they never so great, as reasonably to presume, that his decisions should prevail against such a universal concurrence of judgment in persons of the most distinguished abilities and characters?

So many testimonies, so ancient, so uniform, and so universal, entirely justify Alexander the Great's favourable judgment of the works of Homer, which he looked upon as the most excellent and valuable production of the human mind; *pretiosissimum humani animi opus*.‡

Quintilian,§ after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a just idea of his character and manner of writing in these few words: *Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, superaverit. Idem latus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis*. In great things, what a sublimity of expression; and in little, what a justness and propriety! Diffusive and concise, pleasant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiousness and his brevity.

¶ HESIOD. The most common opinion is, that he was contemporary

* Plin. l. xvii. c. 5.

† In Homer's life which is prefixed to her translation of the *Iliad*

‡ Plin. l. vii. c. 20.

§ Quin. l. x. cap. 1

with Homer. It is said, he was born at Cumæ, a town in Æolia, but that he was brought up at Ascra, a little town in Bœotia, which has since passed for his native country. Thus Virgil calls him the old man of Ascra.* We know little or nothing of this poet, but by the few remaining poems which he has left, all in hexameter verse; which are, 1st, *The Works and Days*; 2dly, *The Theogony*, or the genealogy of the gods; 3dly, *The Shield of Hercules*; of which last some doubt whether it was written by Hesiod.

1. In the first of these poems, entitled, *The Works and Days*, Hesiod treats of agriculture, which requires, besides a great deal of labour, a due observation of times, seasons, and days. This poem is full of excellent sentences and maxims for the conduct of life. He begins it with a short, but lively description of two sorts of disputes; the one fatal to mankind, the source of quarrels, discords, and wars; and the other infinitely useful and beneficial to men, as it sharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and sciences. He then makes an admirable description of the four different ages of the world; the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age. The persons who lived in the golden age are those whom Jupiter after their death turned into so many Genii or spirits,† and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a commission to go up and down the earth, invisible to the sight of men, and to observe all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in composing his *Georgics*, as he himself acknowledges in this verse:—

Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.‡
And sing the Ascraean verse to Roman swains.

The choice made by these two illustrious poets of this subject for the exercise of their muse, shows in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent sources of the wealth and plenty of a country. It is much to be deplored, that in after ages a taste so agreeable to nature, and so well adapted to the preservation of innocence of manners, should have gone to decay. Avarice and luxury have entirely depressed it. *Nimirum alii subiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritiæ tantum artes coluntur.*§

2. *The Theogony* of Hesiod, and the poems of Homer, may be looked upon as the surest and most authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the ancients, and of the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to suppose, that these poets were the inventors of the fables which we read in their writings. They only collected and transmitted to posterity the traces of the religion

* Eclog. vi. v. 70. † *Δαίμονες*. ‡ *Geor. l. ii. v. 176.* § *Plin. in Preem. l. xiv.*

which they found established, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. *The Shield of Hercules* is a separate fragment of a poem, wherein it is pretended that Hesiod celebrated the most illustrious heroines of antiquity: and it bears that title, because it contains, among other things, a long description of the shield of Hercules, concerning whom the same poem relates a particular adventure.

The poetry of Hesiod, in those places that are susceptible of ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not so sublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian* reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.*

A. M. 3360. ARCHILOCHUS. The poet Archilochus, born in Ant. J. C. 794. Paros, inventor of the Iambic verse, lived in the time of Candules, king of Lydia. He has this advantage in common with Homer, according to Vellius Paterculus, that he carried at once that kind of poetry which he invented to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to these verses, and which at first were the only sort used, are composed of one short and one long syllable. The Iambic verse, such as it was invented by Archilochus, seems very proper for a vehement and energetic style: accordingly we see, that Horace, speaking of this poet, says, that it was his anger, or rather his rage, that armed him with his Iambics, for the exercising and exerting of his vengeance.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.†

And Quintilian says,‡ he had an uncommon force of expression, was full of bold thoughts, and of those strokes that are concise, but keen and piercing; in a word, his style was strong and nervous. The longest of his poems were said to be the best.† The world have passed the same judgment upon the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom says the same of his friend Atticus's letters.

The verses of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious;|| witness those he writ against Lycambes, his father-in-law, which drove him to despair. For this double reason,¶ his poetry, how excellent soever it was reckoned in other respects, was banished out of Sparta, as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and morals of young people, than to be useful in cultivating their understanding. We have only some very short fragments remaining of this poet.

* Lib. i. c. 5.

† Art. Poët.

‡ Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validæ tum breves vibrantesque sententiæ, plurimæ sanguinis atque nervorum. *Quint. l. x. c. 1.*

§ Ut Aristophani Archilochi iambus, sic epistola longissima quæque optima videtur. *Cic. Epist. xi. l. 16. ad Atticum.*

|| Hor. Epod. Od. vi. et Epist. xix. l. 1.

¶ Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi è civitate sua exportari jussuerant, quod eorum patrum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluerunt enim ea liberorum sacrum animos imbui, ne plura moribus noceret, quam ingenio prodesset. Itaque maximum potestatem, aut certe summum proximum, quia domum sibi invisum obscenæ maledictis laceraverat. carminum exilio mulcarent. *Fel. Pat. l. vi. c. 2.*

Such a niceness in a heathen people, with regard to the quality of the books which they thought young persons should be permitted to read, is highly worth our notice, and will rise up in condemnation against many Christians.

HIPPONAX. This Poet was of Ephesus, and signalized himself some years after Archilochus, in the same kind of poetry, and with the same force and vehemence. He was ugly, little, lean, and slender.* Two celebrated sculptors, who were brothers, Bupalus and Athenis (some call the latter Anthermus,) diverted themselves at his expense, and represented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack satiric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleasantry with such keen strokes of satire, that they hanged themselves out of mortification: others say they only quitted the city of Ephesus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not spare even those to whom he owed his life. How monstrous was this! Horace joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and represents them as two poets equally dangerous.† In the Anthologia there are three or four epigrams,‡ which describe Hipponax as terrible even after his death. They admonish travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours, *ὄβρις τὴν χαλάρῃν τάφῳ, τὸν θριπτεῖν. Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.*

It is thought he invented the Scazon verse, in which the Spondee is used instead of the Iambus in the sixth foot of the verse that bears that name.

STESICHORUS. He was of Himera, a city in Sicily, and excelled in Lyric poetry, as did those other poets of whom we are going to speak. Lyric poetry is that, the verses of which, digested into odes and stanzas, were sung to the Lyre, or to other such like instruments. Stesichorus flourished betwixt the 37th and 47th Olympiads.

Pausanias,§ after many other fables, relates, that Stesichorus having been punished with the loss of sight for his satirical verses against Helen, did not recover it till he had retracted his invectives, by writing another ode contrary to the first; which latter kind of ode is since called *Palinodia*. Quintilian says,|| that he sang of wars and illustrious heroes, and that he supported upon the lyre all the dignity and majesty of epic poetry.

ALCMAN. He was of Lacedæmon, or, as some will have it, of Sardis, in Lydia, and lived much about the same time as Stesichorus. Some make him the first author of amorous verses.

* Hipponacti notabilis vultus feditas erat; quamobrem imaginem ejus lascivis jocorum si proposuere ridentium circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum distinxit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eorum impulsisse; quod falsum est. *Pfiss. l. xxxvi. c. 5.*

† In males asperimus
Parata tollo coram;
Qualis Lycambæ spreto insido gener,
Aut acer hostis Bupalæ. *Epid. vi.*

‡ Anthol. l. iii.

§ Paus. in Lacon. p. 200.

|| Stesichorum quàm sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et ardentissimos canentem duces, et epici carminis onera lyræ sustinentem. *L. x. c. l.*

ALCÆUS. He was born at Mitylene, in Lesbos: it is from him that the Alcaic verse derived its name. He was a professed enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and particularly to Pittacus, against whom he perpetually inveighed in his verses. It is said of him,* that being once in a battle, he was seized with such fear and terror, that he threw down his arms, and ran away. Horace has thought fit to give us the same account of himself.† Poets do not value themselves so much upon prowess as upon wit. Quintilian says,‡ that the style of Alcæus was close, magnificent, and chaste; and to complete his character, adds, that he very much resembled Homer.

SIMONIDES. This poet was a native of Ceos, an island in the Ægean sea. He continued to flourish at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He excelled principally in elegy.† The invention of local memory is ascribed to him, of which I have spoken elsewhere.‡ At twenty-four years of age he disputed for, and carried, the prize of poetry.

The answer he gave a prince, who asked him, what God was, is much celebrated.¶ That prince was Hiero, king of Syracuse. The poet desired a day to consider the question proposed to him. On the morrow he asked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his answer, he still doubled the time. The king, surprised at this behaviour, demanded his reason for it.—It is, replied Simonides, because the more I consider the question, the more obscure it seems: *Quia quanto diutius considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.* The answer was wise, if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majesty, which no understanding can comprehend, nor any tongue express.**

After having travelled through many cities of Asia,†† and amassed considerable wealth by celebrating, in his verses, the praises of those who were capable of rewarding him well, he embarked for the island of Ceos, his native country. The ship was cast away. Every one endeavoured to save what they could. Simonides did not encumber himself with any thing; and when he was asked the reason for it, he replied,—I carry all I have about me: *Mecum, inquit, mea sunt cuncta.* Several of the company were drowned, being overwhelmed by the weight of the things they attempted to save,

* Herod. l. v. c. 95.

† Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam.

Sensi, relicta non bene parvula. Hor. Od. vii. l. 2.

* In eloquendo brevis et magnificus et diligens, plerumque Homero similis.

‡ Sed me relictis, Musa proci, jocis

Cum retractes munera nania. Horat.

Mentius lacrymis Simonideis. Catull.

‡ Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres.

¶ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 15.

** Certè hoc est Deus, quod et cum dicitur, non potest dici: cum estimatur, non potest estimari; cum comparatur, non potest comparari; cum definitur, ipsa definitione crescit. Aug. serm. de temp. cix.

†† Nobis ad intellectum pectus angustum est. Et ideo sic eum (Deum) dignè estimamus, dum inestimabilem dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum sentio. Magnitudinem Dei qui se putat nōsse, minuit: cui non vult mi nōsse, non sōvit. Minut. Phil.

†† Phœdr. l. iv

and those who got to shore were plundered by thieves. All that escaped went to Clazomenæ, which was not far from the place where the vessel was lost. One of the citizens, who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was exceedingly pleased, and thought it an honour, to receive him into his house. He supplied him abundantly with necessaries, whilst the rest were obliged to beg through the city. The poet, upon meeting them, did not forget to observe how justly he had answered them in regard to his effects: *Dixi, inquit, mea mecum esse cuncta; vos quod rapuistis, perit.*

He was reproached with having dishonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not composing any verses till he had agreed on the price to be paid for them. In Aristotle,* we find a proof of this, which does him no honour. A person who had won the prize in the chariot-races, desired Simonides to compose a song of triumph upon that subject. The poet, not thinking the reward sufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. The prize had been won by mules, and he pretended that animal did not afford the proper matter for praise. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule; and the poem was made. Money has long had power to bestow nobility and beauty:

Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.

As this animal is generated between a she-ass and a horse, the poet, as Aristotle observes, considered them at first only on the base side of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he styled them *illustrious foals of rapid steeds*: *Χαλκρὶ ἀλλοπύδων βύγατες ἵππων.*

SAPPHO. She was of the same place, and lived at the same time, with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse took its name from her. She composed a considerable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining. these are sufficient to satisfy us that the praises given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic softness, numbers, harmony, and infinite graces, of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a farther proof of her merit, she was called the Tenth Muse; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their money. It were to be wished, that the purity of her manners had been equal to the beauty of her genius; and that she had not dishonoured her sex by her vices and irregularities.

ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He lived in the 72d Olympiad. Anacreon† spent a great part of his time at the court of Polycrates, that fortunate tyrant of Samos; and not only shared in all his pleasures, but was of his council. Plato tells us,‡ that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a vessel of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote him a most obliging letter, entreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would

* Rhet. l. iii. c. 2.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 121.

‡ In Hippar. p. 226. 229.

be esteemed and relished as they deserved. It is said, the only study of this poet was joy and pleasure: and those remains we have of his poetry sufficiently confirm it. We see plainly in all his verses, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impossible to express the elegance and delicacy of his poems: nothing could be more estimable, had their object been more noble.

THESPIS. He was the first inventor of Tragedy. I defer speaking of him, till I come to give some account of the tragic poets.

Of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.

These men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in this present history. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laertius.

THALES, the Milesian. If Cicero* is to be believed, Thales was the most illustrious of the seven wise men. It was he that laid the first foundations of philosophy in Greece, and gave rise to the sect called the Ionic sect; because he, the founder of it, was of Ionia.

He held water to be the first principle of all things;† and that God was that intelligent being, by whom all things were formed from water. The first of these opinions he had borrowed from the Egyptians, who, seeing the Nile to be the cause of the fertility of all their lands, might easily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the first of the Greeks that studied astronomy. He had exactly foretold the time of the eclipse of the sun that happened in the reign of Astyages, king of Media, of which mention has been made already.

He was also the first that fixed the term and duration of the solar year among the Grecians. By comparing the bigness of the sun's body with that of the moon, he thought he had discovered, that the body of the moon was in solidity but the 720th part of the sun's body, and consequently, that the solid body of the sun was above 700 times bigger than the solid body of the moon. This computation is very far from the truth; as the sun's solidity exceeds, not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or solidity. But we know, that in all these matters, and particularly in that of which we are now speaking, the first observations and discoveries were very imperfect.

When Thales travelled into Egypt,‡ he discovered an easy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramids, by observing the time when the shadow of our body is equal in length to the height of the body itself.

To show that philosophers were not so destitute,§ as some people imagined, of that sort of talents and capacity which is proper for business; and that they would be as successful as others in growing

* Princeps Thales, unus è septem cui sex reliquis concessisse primas ferunt. Lib. iv Acad. Quæst. n. 118.

† Phil. lib. xxi. cap. 12.

‡ Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 25.

§ Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 111.

rich, if they thought fit to apply themselves to that pursuit, he bought the fruit of all the olive-trees in the territory of Miletus before they were in blossom. The profound knowledge he had of nature had probably enabled him to foresee that the year would be extremely fertile. It proved so in fact; and he made a considerable profit by his bargain.

He used to thank the gods for three things: that he was born a reasonable creature, and not a beast; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a Barbarian. Upon his mother's pressing him to marry when he was young, he told her, it was then too soon; and after several years were elapsed, he told her it was then too late.

As he was one day walking, and very attentively contemplating the stars, he chanced to fall into a ditch.—Ha! says a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what passes in the heavens, and what is so infinitely above your head, if you cannot see what is just at your feet, and before your nose?

A. M. 3457. He was born the first year of the 35th, and died the Ant. J. C. 547. first year of the 58th Olympiad: consequently, he lived to be above ninety years of age.

SOLON. His life has been already related at length.

CHILLO. He was a Lacedæmonian: very little is related of him. Æsop asking him one day, how Jupiter employed himself? *In humbling those,* says he, *that exalt themselves, and exalting those that abase themselves.*

He died of joy at Pisa, upon seeing his son win the prize at boxing, in the Olympic games. He said when he was dying, that he was not conscious to himself of having committed any fault during the whole course of his life (an opinion well becoming the pride and blindness of a heathen philosopher;) unless it was once, when he made use of a little dissimulation and evasion, in giving judgment in favour of a friend: in which action he did not know, whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

PITTACUS. He was of Mitylene, a city of Lesbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous Lyric poet, and with Alcæus himself, who was at the head of the exiled party, he drove the tyrant who had usurped the government out of that island.

The inhabitants of Mitylene being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, he offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in single combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious, and killed his adversary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous consent, conferred the sovereignty of the city upon him; which he accepted, and behaved himself with so much moderation and wisdom, that he was always respected and beloved by his subjects.

In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not spare Pittacus in his verses, notwithstanding the mildness of his government and temper, but inveighed severely against

him. The poet fell afterwards into Pittacus's hands, who was so far from taking revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and showed, by that act of clemency and generosity, that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having governed ten years with great equity and wisdom, he voluntarily resigned his authority, and retired. He used to say,* that the proof of a good government was, to engage the subjects not to be afraid of their prince, but to be afraid for him. It was a maxim with him, that no man should ever give himself the liberty of speaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died in the 52d Olympiad.

Bias. We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattes, king of Lydia, by a stratagem, to raise the siege of Priene, where he was born. The city was hard pressed with famine; upon which he caused two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them pass into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in astonished the king, who thereupon sent deputies into the city, upon pretence of offering terms of peace, but really to observe the state of the town and people. Bias, guessing their errand, had ordered the granaries to be filled with great heaps of sand, and those heaps to be covered with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king of the great plenty of provisions they had seen in the city, he hesitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raised the siege. One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended, was, to do all the good we can, and ascribe all the glory of it to the gods.†

CLEOBULUS. We know as little of him as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the isle of Rhodes; or, as some will have it, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty of Athens.

PERIANDER. He is numbered among the wise men, though he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had first made himself master of that city, he wrote to Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, to know what measures he should take with his new acquired subjects. The latter, without any other answer, led the messenger into a field of wheat, where in walking along he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn that were higher than the rest. Periander perfectly well understood the meaning of this enigmatical answer, which was a tacit intimation to him, that, in order to secure his own life, he should cut off the most powerful of the Corinthian citizens. But, if we may believe Plutarch,‡ Periander did not relish so cruel advice.

He wrote circular letters to all the wise men,§ inviting them to pass some time with him at Corinth, as they had done the year be-

* *Εἰ τοὺς ἰκανοὺς ὁ δεχόμενος παρασκευάσει φοβεῖσθαι μὴ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτοῦ.* Plut. in Conv. sept. sap. p. 132.

† *Ὅτι δὲ ἀγαθὸν πλεονέχει, εἰς θεοὺς ἀνάγκη.*

‡ *Aug. Lect. in vit. Periand.*

‡ In Conv. sept. sap.

fore at Sardis with Croesus. Princes in those days thought themselves much honoured, when they could have such guests in their houses. Plutarch describes an entertainment,* which Periander gave these illustrious guests; and observes, at the same time, that the decent simplicity of it, adapted to the taste and character of the persons entertained, did him much more honour than the greatest magnificence could have done. The subject of their discourse at table was sometimes grave and serious, and sometimes pleasant and gay. One of the company proposed this question: Which is the most perfect popular government?—That, answered Solon, where an injury done to any private citizen is such to the whole body:—That, says Bias, where the law has no superior:—That, says Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor:—That, says Anacharsis, where virtue is honoured, and vice detested:—says Pit-tacus, Where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked:—says Cleobulus, Where the citizens fear blame more than punishment:—says Chilo, Where the laws are more regarded, and have more authority, than the orators. From all these opinions, Periander concluded, that the most perfect popular government would be that which came nearest to aristocracy, where the sovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.

Whilst these wise men were assembled together at Periander's court, a courier arrived from Amasis, king of Egypt, with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a close correspondence. The purport of this letter was to consult him how he should answer a proposal made him by the king of Ethiopia, of his drinking up the sea; in which case the Ethiopian king promised to resign to him a certain number of cities in his dominions: but if he did not do it, then he, Amasis, was to give up the same number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was usual in those days for princes to propound such enigmatical and puzzling questions to one another. Bias answered him directly, and advised him to accept the offer on the condition that the king of Ethiopia would stop all the rivers that flow into the sea: for the business was only to drink up the sea, and not the rivers. We find an answer to the same effect ascribed to Æsop.

I must not here forget to take notice, that these wise men, of whom I have been speaking, were all lovers of poetry, and composed verses themselves, some of them a considerable number, upon subjects of morality and policy, which are certainly topics well worthy of the muses. Solon,† however, is reproached for having written some licentious verses; which may teach us what judgment we ought to form of these pretended wise men of the pagan world.

Instead of some of these seven wise men, which I have mentioned, some people have substituted others; as Anacharsis for exam-

* In Conv. sept. sap.

† Plat. in Solon. p. 78.

pla, Myso, Epimenides, Pherecydes. The first of these is the most known in story.

ANACHARSIS. Long before Solon's time the Nomad Scythians, were in great reputation for their simplicity, frugality, temperance and justice. Homer calls them a very just nation.* Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian, once having reproached him with his country:—My country, you think, replied Anacharsis, is no great honour to me: and you, sir, are no great honour to your country.—His good sense, profound knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. He wrote a treatise in verse upon the art military, and composed another tract on the laws of Scythia.

He used to make visits to Solon. It was in conversation with him that he compared laws to cobwebs, which entangle only little flies, whilst wasps and hornets break through them.

Being inured to the austere and poor life of the Scythians, he set little value upon riches. Cræsus invited him to come and see him, and without doubt hinted to him, that he was able to mend his fortune. *I have no occasion for your gold,* said the Scythian in his answer: *I come into Greece only to enrich my mind, and improve my understanding; I shall be very well satisfied, if I return into my own country, not with an addition to my wealth, but with an increase of knowledge and virtue.* However, Anacharsis accepted the invitation, and went to that prince's court.

We have already observed that Æsop was much surprised and dissatisfied at the cold and indifferent manner in which Solon viewed the magnificence of the palace, and the vast treasures of Cræsus;† because it was the master, and not the house, that the philosopher wished to have reason to admire. *Certainly,* says Anacharsis to Æsop on that occasion, *you have forgotten your own fable of the fox and panther. The latter, as her highest merit, could only show her fine skin, beautifully marked and spotted with different colours: the fox's skin, on the contrary, was very plain, but contained within it a treasure of subtilties and stratagems of infinite value. This very image, continued the Scythian, shows me your own character. You are affected with a splendid outside whilst you pay little or no regard to what is truly the man, that is, to that which is in him, and consequently property his.*

Æsop. I join Æsop with the wise men of Greece; not only because he was often amongst them,‡ but because he taught true wisdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.

* *Iliad*. lib. N. v. 6.

† *Plut.* in *Cæsar*. sept. sep. p. 133.

‡ *Æsopus* ille à Phrygiâ fabulator, hæc immerito sapiens existimatus est: cùm quæ utilis monitu suasque erant, non severè, non imperiosè præcepit et censuit, ut philosophia mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apologos commentus, res salubriter ac prospicienter animadvertens, in mentes animosque hominum, cum audiendi quâdam illecebrâ induit. *Ant. Gell. Noct. Att.* lib. II. cap. 29.

Æsop was by birth a Phrygian. He had abundance of wit; but was terribly deformed: he was short, hunch-backed, and horridly ugly in face, having scarce the figure of a man; and for a very considerable time almost without the use of speech. As to his condition of life, he was a slave; and the merchant who had bought him, found it very difficult to get him off his hands, so extremely were people shocked at his unsightly figure and deformity.

The first master he had sent him to labour in the field; whether it was that he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to move so disagreeable an object out of his sight.

He was afterwards sold to a philosopher named Xanthus. I should never have done, should I relate all the strokes of wit, the sprightly repartees, and the arch and humorous circumstances of his words and behaviour. One day his master, designing to treat some of his friends, ordered **Æsop** to provide the best of every thing he could find in the market. **Æsop** bought nothing but tongues, which he desired the cook to serve up with different sauces. When dinner came, the first and second courses, the side dishes, and the removes, were tongues. Did I not order you, says Xanthus in a violent passion, to buy the best victuals the market afforded? And have I not obeyed your orders? says **Æsop**. Is there any thing better than a tongue? Is not the tongue the bond of civil society, the key of sciences, and the origin of truth and reason? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments established and administered: with that men instruct, persuade, and preside in assemblies: it is the instrument by which we acquit ourselves of the chief of all our duties, the praising and adoring the gods. Well then, replied Xanthus, thinking to catch him, go to market again to-morrow, and buy me the worst of every thing: the same company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diversify my entertainment. **Æsop** the next day provided nothing but the very same dishes; telling his master that the tongue was the worst thing in the world. It is, says he, the instrument of all strife and contention, the fomentor of law-suits, and the source of divisions and wars; it is the organ of error, of lies, calumny, and blasphemy.

Æsop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the very first uses he made of it was to go to **Cræsus**, who, on account of his great reputation and fame, had been long desirous to see him. The strange deformity of **Æsop's** person shocked the king at first, and much abated the good opinion he had conceived of him. But the beauty of his mind soon shone forth through the coarse veil that covered it; and **Cræsus** found, as **Æsop** said on another occasion, that we ought not consider the form of the vessel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

He made several voyages into Greece,* either for pleasure, or upon the affairs of **Cræsus**. Being at Athens a short time after

* *Phædr.* l. i. fab. 2.

Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty and abolished the popular government, and observing the Athenians bore this new yoke with great impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs who demanded a king from Jupiter.

It is doubted whether the fables of *Æsop*, such as we have them, are all his, at least in regard to the expression. Great part of them are ascribed to *Planudes*, who wrote his life, and lived in the fourteenth century.

Æsop is reckoned the author and inventor of this simple and natural manner of conveying instruction by tales and fables; in which light *Phædrus* speaks of him:

*Æsopus auctor quam materiam reperit,
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.*

But the glory of this invention is really due to the poet *Hesiod*;^{*} an invention which does not seem to be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit, and yet has been much esteemed and made use of by the greatest philosophers and ablest politicians. *Plato* tells us, that *Socrates*,† a little before he died, turned some of *Æsop's* fables into verse; and *Plato* himself earnestly recommends it to nurses to instruct their children in it betimes,‡ in order to form their manners, and to inspire them early with the love of wisdom.

Fables could never have been so universally adopted by all nations, as we see they have, if there was not a vast fund of useful truths contained in them, and agreeably conceived under that plain and negligent disguise, in which their peculiar character consists. The Creator certainly designing to instruct mankind, by the very prospect of nature, has endowed the brute part of it with various instincts, inclinations, and properties, to serve as so many pictures in miniature to man, of the several duties incumbent upon him; and to point out to him the good or evil qualities he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for instance, a lively image of meekness and innocence in the lamb; of fidelity and friendship in the dog; and on the contrary, of violence, rapaciousness, and cruelty, in the wolf, the lion, and the tiger; and so of the other species of animals; and all this he has designed, not only as instruction, but as a secret reproof to man if he should be indifferent about those qualities in himself, which he cannot forbear esteeming or detesting, even in the brutes themselves.

This is a dumb language which all nations understand; it is a sentiment engraven in nature, which every man carries about with him. *Æsop* was the first of all the profane writers who laid hold

* *Hic quoque fabule, quæ, etiam si originem non ab Æsopo acceperunt (nam videtur earum primus auctor Hesiodus,) nomine tamen Æsopi maxime celebrantur, ducere animos solent, præcipue rusticorum et imperitorum; qui et simplicibus quæ facta sunt audiunt, et capiti voluptate facile illis quibus delectantur consentiunt. Quintil. l. v. c. 12.*

† *Plat. in Phæd. p. 64.*

‡ *Lib. ii. de Rep. p. 378.*

of and unfolded it, made happy application of it, and attracted man's attention to this sort of simple and natural instruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to persons of all ages and conditions. He was the first that, in order to give body and substance to virtues, vices, duties, and maxims of society, did, by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of clothing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beasts, and ascribing sense and reason to plants and trees, and all sorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of Æsop are void of all ornament; but abound with good sense, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they are more particularly composed. Those of Phædrus are in a style somewhat more elevated and diffused, but at the same time have a simplicity and elegance, that very much resemble the Attic spirit and style in the plain way of writing, which was the finest and most delicate kind of composition in use among the Grecians. Monsieur de la Fontaine, who was very sensible that the French tongue is not susceptible of the same elegant simplicity, has enlivened his fables with a sprightly and original turn of thought and expression, peculiar to himself, which no other person has yet been able to imitate.

It is not easy to conceive,* why Seneca asserts as a fact, that the Romans in his time had never tried their pens in this kind of composition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?

Plutarch relates the manner of Æsop's death.† He went to Delphi, with a great quantity of gold and silver, to offer, in the name of Cræsus, a great sacrifice to Apollo, and to give each inhabitant a considerable sum.‡ A quarrel, which arose between him and the people of Delphi, occasioned him, after the sacrifice, to send back the money to Cræsus, and to inform him, that those for whom it was intended had rendered themselves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants of Delphi caused him to be condemned as guilty of sacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, punished them with a plague and famine; so that to put an end to these evils, they caused it to be signified in all the assemblies of Greece, that if any one, for the honour of Æsop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him satisfaction. At the third generation,§ a man from Samos presented himself, who had no other relation to Æsop than being descended from the person who had bought that fabulist. The Delphians made this man satisfaction, and thereby delivered themselves from the pestilence and famine that distressed them.

* Non audeo te usque eò producere, ut fabellas quoque et Æsopæos logos INTENTATUR ROMANIS INGENIIS OPUS, solitâ tibi venustate connectas. *Senec. de Consol. ad Polyb.* c. 27.

† De sera Numinis vindictâ. p. 556, 557.

‡ Four mines, equal to 240 livres, about 8*l.* 10*s.*

§ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 134.

The Athenians, those excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble statue to this learned and ingenious slave; to let all the people know, says Phædrus,* that the ways of honour were open indifferently to all mankind, and that it was not to birth, but merit, they paid so honourable a distinction.

*Æsopo ingentem statuas posuere Attici,
Servumque collocarunt æternâ in basi,
Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam,
Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti gloriam.*

• Herod. lib. ii. cap. 134.

BOOK VI.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF DARIUS, INTERMIXED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

BEFORE Darius came to be king,* he was called Ochus. At his succession he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Persian language signifies an avenger, or a man that defeats the schemes of another; probably because he had punished and put an end to the insolence of the Magian impostor. He reigned thirty-six years.

SECTION I.

Darius's marriages. The imposition of tributes. The insolence and punishment of Intaphernes. The death of Oretes. The story of Democedes, a physician. The Jews permitted to carry on the building of their temple. The generosity of Syloson rewarded.

Before Darius was elected king he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is not known. Artabarzanes, the eldest of the three sons whom he had by her, afterwards disputed the empire with Xerxes.

A. M. 3483. When Darius was seated on the throne,† the better Ant. J. C. 521. to secure himself therein, he married two of Cyrus's daughters, Atossa, and Artistona. The former had been wife to Cambyses, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he possessed the throne. Artistona was still a virgin when Darius married her; and of all his wives was the person he most loved. He likewise married Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, who was Cambyses's brother, as also Phedyma,

* Herod. l. vi. c. 98. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 88.

daughter to Otanes, by whose management the imposture of the Magian was discovered. By these wives he had a great number of children of both sexes.

We have already seen, that the seven conspirators who put the Magian to death, had agreed among themselves, that he whose horse, on a day appointed, first neighed, at the rising of the sun, should be declared king; and that Darius's horse, by an artifice of his groom, procured his master that honour. The king,* desiring to transmit to future ages his gratitude for this signal service, caused an equestrian statue to be set up, with this inscription: *Darius, the son of Hystaspes, acquired the kingdom of Persia by means of his horse (whose name was inserted,) and of his groom, Oebares.* There is in this inscription, in which we see the king is not ashamed to own himself indebted to his horse and his groom for so transcendent a benefaction as the regal diadem, when it was his interest, one would think, to have it considered as the fruits of a superior merit; there is, I say, in this inscription, a simplicity and sincerity strikingly characteristic of those ancient times, and extremely remote from the pride and vanity of our own.

One of the first cares of Darius,† when he was settled on the throne, was to regulate the state of the provinces, and to put his finances into good order. Before his time, Cyrus and Cambyzes had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations such free gifts only as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they had occasion for them. But Darius perceived that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations subject to him in peace and security, without keeping up regular forces; and equally impossible to maintain these forces, without assigning them a certain pay; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying taxes and impositions upon the people.

In order therefore the better to regulate the administration of his finances, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain sum to the satrap appointed for that purpose. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all imposts. Herodotus gives an exact enumeration of these provinces, which may very much contribute to give us a just idea of the extent of the Persian empire.

In Asia it comprehended all that now belongs to the Persians and Turks; in Africa, it took in Egypt and part of Nubia, as also the coast of the Mediterranean as far as the kingdom of Barca; in Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. But it must be observed, that in this vast extent of country, there were several nations which were only tributary, and not properly subjects to Persia; as is the case at this day with respect to the Turkish empire.

* Herod. l. iii. c. 88.

† Ibid. c. 89—97.

History observes,* that Darius, in imposing these tributes, showed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants, of every province; such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were interested in giving him a true and impartial account. He then asked them, if such and such sums, which he proposed to each of them for their respective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay; his intention being, as he told them, not to oppress his subjects, but only to require such aids from them as were proportioned to their incomes, and absolutely necessary for the defence of the state. They all answered, that the sums he proposed were very reasonable, and such as would not be burdensome to the people. The king, however, was pleased to abate one half, choosing rather to keep a great deal within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.

But notwithstanding this extraordinary moderation on the king's part, as there is something odious in all imposts, the Persians, who had given the surname of Father to Cyrus, and of master to Cambyzes, thought fit to characterize Darius by that of Merchant.†

The several sums levied by the imposition of these tributes or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in the whole to about 44,000,000 *per annum* French, or something less than 2,000,000 English money.

After the death of the Magian impostor,‡ it was agreed, that the Persian noblemen who had conspired against him, should, besides several other marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of those noblemen, being refused admittance into the king's apartment at a time when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage attacked the officers of the palace, abused them outrageously, cutting their faces with his scymitar. Darius highly resented so heinous an insult; and at first apprehended it might be a conspiracy amongst the noblemen. But when he was well assured of the contrary, he caused Intaphernes, with his children, and all that were of his family, to be seized, and had them all condemned to death, confounding through a blind excess of severity, the innocent with the guilty. In these unhappy circumstances, the wife of the criminal went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the most lamentable manner, and never ceasing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetic eloquence of sorrow and distress. The king

* Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 172.

† *Καπηλεύς* signifies something still more mean and contemptible; but I do not know how to express it in our language. It may signify a broker or a retailer, any one that buys to sell again.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 118, 119.

could not resist so moving a spectacle, and besides her own, granted her the pardon of any one of her family whom she should choose. This gave the unhappy lady great perplexity, who desired, no doubt, to save them all. At last, after a long deliberation, she determined in favour of her brother.

This choice, wherein she seemed not to have followed the sentiments which nature should dictate to a mother and a wife, surprised the king; and when he desired she might be asked the reason of it, she made answer, that by a second marriage the loss of a husband and children might be retrieved; but that her father and mother being dead, there was no possibility of recovering a brother. Darius, besides the life of her brother, granted her the same favour for the eldest of her children.

I have already related, in this volume,* by what an instance of perfidiousness Oretes, one of the king's governors in Asia Minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and detestable a crime did not go unpunished. Darius found out, that Oretes strangely abused his power, making no account of the blood of those persons who had the misfortune to displease him. This satrap carried his insolence so far, as to put to death a messenger sent him by the king, because the orders he had brought him were disagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himself well settled in the throne, would not venture to attack him openly; for the satrap had no less than 1000 soldiers for his guard, not to mention the soldiers he was able to raise from his government, which included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a secret manner to rid himself of so dangerous a servant. With this commission he intrusted one of his officers, of approved fidelity, and attachment to his person. The officer, under pretence of other business, went to Sardis, where, with great dexterity, he sounded the dispositions of the people. To pave the way to his design, he first gave the principal officers of the governor's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more express and particular. And as soon he found himself perfectly sure of the disposition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king in plain terms commanded them to put the governor to death; and this order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiscated to the king; and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa. Among the rest there was a celebrated physician of Crotona, whose name was Democedes. This physician's story is very singular, and happened to be the occasion of some considerable events.

Not long after the forementioned transaction,† Darius chanced to have a fall from his horse in hunting, by which he wrenched one

* Herod. l. iii. c. 120. 123.

† Ibid. 139, 130.

of his feet in a violent manner, and put his heel out of joint. The Egyptians were then reckoned the most skilful in physic; for which reason the king had several physicians of that nation about him. These undertook to cure the king,* and exerted all their skill on so important an occasion; but they were so awkward in the operation, and in the handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; so that he passed seven days and seven nights without sleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occasion by some person, who had heard him extolled at Sardis as a very able physician. He was sent for immediately, and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and a very poor apparel; for he was at that time actually a prisoner. The king asked him, whether he had any knowledge of physic? At first he denied he had, fearing, that if he should give any proofs of his skill, he should be detained in Persia, and by that means be for ever debarred from returning to his own country, for which he had an exceeding affection. Darius, displeased with his answer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was necessary to own the truth, and therefore offered his service to the king. The first thing he did, was to apply gentle fomentations to the part affected. This remedy had a speedy effect; the king recovered his sleep; and in a few days was perfectly cured both of the sprain and the dislocation. To recompense the physician, the king made him a present of two pair of golden chains. Upon which Democedes asked him, whether he meant to reward the happy success of his endeavours by doubling his misfortunes? The king was pleased with that saying; and ordered his eunuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, that they might see the person to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very magnificent presents; so that in one day's time he became extremely rich.

Democedes was a native of Crotona,† a city of Græcia Magna in the lower Calabria in Italy, from whence he had been obliged to fly, on account of the ill-treatment he received from his father. He first went to Ægina,‡ where, by several successful cures, he acquired great reputation: the inhabitants of this place settled on him a yearly pension of a talent. The talent contained sixty minæ, and was worth about 3000 livres French money. Some time after he was invited to Athens; where they augmented his pension to 5000 livres *per annum*.§ After this he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a pension of 2000 crowns.¶ It redounds much to the honour of cities or princes, by handsome pensions and salaries, to engage such persons in their service as are of public benefit to mankind; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and settle among them. The Crotonians from

* Anciently the same persons practised both as physicians and surgeons.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 131.

‡ An island between Attica and Peloponnesus.

§ 100 minæ.

¶ Two talents.

this time had the reputation of having the ablest physicians; and next after them, the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argives were at the same time reputed to excel in music.

Democedes,* after performing this cure upon the king, was admitted to the honour of eating at his table, and came to have great influence at Susa. At his intercession, the Egyptian physicians were pardoned, who had all been condemned to be hanged for having been less skilful than the Grecian physician; as if they were obliged to answer for the success of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. This is a strange abuse, though too common an effect of unlimited power, which is seldom guided by reason or equity, and which, being accustomed to see every thing give way implicitly to its authority, expects that its commands, of what nature soever, should be instantly performed! We have seen something of this kind in the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general sentence of death upon all his magicians, because they could not divine what it was he had dreamed in the night, which he himself had forgotten. Democedes procured also the enlargement of several of those persons who had been imprisoned with him. He lived in the greatest affluence, and was in the highest esteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great distance from his own country, and his thoughts and desires were continually bent upon Greece.

He had the good fortune to perform another cure,† which contributed to raise his credit and reputation still higher. Atossa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breast. As long as the pain was moderate, she bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on herself, out of modesty, to discover her disorder. But at last she was constrained to it, and sent for Democedes; who promised to cure her, and at the same time requested that she would be pleased to grant him a certain favour he should beg of her, entirely consistent with her honour. The queen engaged her word, and was cured. The favour desired by the physician was to procure him a journey into his own country, and the queen was not unmindful of her promise. It is worth while to take notice of such events,‡ which, though not very considerable in themselves, often give occasion to the greatest enterprises of princes, and are even the secret springs and distant causes of them.

As Atossa was conversing one day with Darius, she took occasion to represent to him, that, as he was in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring the fatigues of war, and had numerous armies at command, it would be for his honour to form some great enterprise, and let the Persians see they had a man of courage for their king. You have hit my thoughts, replied Darius; for I was meditating an attack upon the Scythians.

* Herod. l. iii. c. 132.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 135. 137.

‡ Non sine una fuerit introspectio illa primo aspectu levia, ex quibus magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur. Tac. l. iv. c. 28.

I had much rather, says Atossa, you would first turn your arms against Greece. I have heard great things said in praise of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth; and should be very glad to have some of them in my service. Besides, you have a person here that might be very useful to you in such an enterprise, and could give you a perfect knowledge of the country: the person I mean is Democedes, who hath cured both you and me. This was enough for the king, and the affair was resolved upon immediately. Fifteen Persian noblemen were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and to examine with him all the maritime places as thoroughly as possible. The king strictly charged these persons, above all things to keep a watchful eye upon the physician, that he did not give them the slip, and to bring him back with them to the Persian court.

Darius, in giving such an order, plainly showed he did not understand the proper methods for engaging men of abilities and merit to reside in his dominions, and for attaching them to his person. To pretend to do this by authority and compulsion, is the sure way of suppressing all knowledge and industry, and of driving away the liberal arts and sciences, which must be free and unconfined, like the genius from whence they spring. For one man of genius that will be kept in a country by force, thousands will be driven away, who would probably have chosen to reside in it, if they could enjoy their liberty and meet with kind treatment.

When Darius had formed his design of sending into Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occasion he had for his service in conducting the Persian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to observe their situation and strength: at the same time earnestly desiring him, that, when that was done, he would return back with them to Persia. The king permitted him to carry all his moveables with him, and give them, if he pleased, to his father and brothers, promising, at his return, to give him as many of greater value; and signified to him farther, that he would order the galley in which he was to sail, to be laden with very rich presents, for him to bestow as he thought fit on the rest of his family. The king's intention appeared, by this manner of speaking, to be undisguised and without artifice: but Democedes was afraid it might be a snare laid for him, to discover whether he intended to return to Persia or not; and therefore, to remove all suspicion, he left his own goods behind him at Susa, and only took with him the presents designed for his family.

The first place the commissioners landed at was Sidon in Phœnicia, where they equipped two large vessels for themselves, and put all they had brought along with them on board a transport. After having passed through, and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum in Italy. Here the Persian noblemen were taken up as spies; and Democedes, taking advantage of this arrest, made his escape from them, and fled to Crotona. When

the Persian lords had recovered their liberty, they pursued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotonians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover seized the loaded vessel; and the Persians, having lost their guide, laid aside the thoughts of going through the other parts of Greece, and set out for their own country. Democedes let them know, at their departure, that he was going to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wrestler of Crotona, whose name was very well known to the king. This voyage of the Persian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate consequence; because, on their return home, they found the king engaged in other affairs.

A. M. 3483. In the third year of this king's reign,* which was but Ant. J. C. 519, the second according to the Jewish computation, the Samaritans gave the Jews new trouble. In the preceding reigns, they had procured an order to prohibit the Jews from proceeding any farther in building of the temple of Jerusalem. But upon the earnest exhortation of the prophets, and the express order of God, the Israelites had lately resumed the work, which had been interrupted for several years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourse to their ancient practices, to prevent them. To this end they applied to Tatnai, whom Darius had made governor of the provinces of Syria and Palestine. They complained to him of the audacious proceeding of the Jews who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, presumed to rebuild their temple; which must necessarily be prejudicial to the king's interests. Upon this representation of theirs, the governor thought fit to go himself to Jerusalem. And being a person of great equity and moderation, when he had inspected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a stop to it without any farther deliberation; but inquired of the Jewish elders what license they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus, he would not of himself ordain any thing in contradiction to it, but sent an account of the matter to the king, and desired to know his pleasure. He gave the king a true representation of the matter, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus, which the Jews alleged in their justification, and desired him to order the registers to be consulted, to know whether Cyrus had really published such an edict, and to be pleased to send him instructions how he was to act in the affair. Darius having commanded the registers to be examined, the edict was found at Ecbatana, in Media, the place where Cyrus was at the time of its being granted. Now Darius having a great respect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and caused another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing else to influence the king, would be very laud

* Ezra, c. v.

† Ezra, c. vi.

able: but the Scripture informs us, that it was God himself who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inspired him with a favourable disposition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itself. In the first place it ordains, that all the victims, oblations, and other expenses of the temple, be abundantly furnished the Jews, as the priests should require: in the second place it enjoins the priests of Jerusalem, when they offered their sacrifices to the God of heaven, to pray for the preservation of the life of the king and the princes his children; and lastly, it goes so far as to denounce imprecations against all princes and people, that should hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that should attempt to destroy it: by all which Darius evidently acknowledges, that the God of Israel is able to overturn the kingdoms of the world, and to dethrone the most mighty and powerful princes.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authorized to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expenses thereof were also to be furnished to them out of the taxes and imposts of the province. What must have become of the Jews, when the crimes of disobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at such a juncture their superiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to justify themselves!

The same prince, some time after, gave a still more signal proof of his love for justice, and of his abhorrence of informers, a detestable race of men, by their very nature and condition enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious that I mean the famous edict, published by this prince against Haman, in favour of the Jews, at the request of Esther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vashti, one of his wives. According to archbishop Usher, this Vashti, is the same person as is called by profane writers Atossa; and the Ahasuerus of the Holy Scriptures the same as Darius; but according to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being related in the sacred history: I have given, however a brief account of it in this volume.

Such actions of justice do great honour to a prince's memory; as do also those of gratitude, of which Darius, on a certain occasion, gave a very laudable instance. Syloson,* brother to Polycrates tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a present of a suit of clothes, of a curious red colour, which extremely pleased Darius's fancy, and would never suffer him to make any return for it. Darius at that time was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyses, whom he accompanied to Memphis, in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Persia, Syloson went to Susa, presented himself at the gate of his palace, and caused himself to be announced as a Grecian, to whom his majesty was under some obligation. Darius, surprised at such a message, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be

† Herod. l. iii. c. 130. 140.

brought in. When he saw him, he remembered him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor: and was so far from being ashamed of an adventure which might seem not to be much for his honour, that he ingenuously applauded the gentleman's generosity, which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleasure to a person from whom he could have no expectations; and then proposed to make him a considerable present of gold and silver. But money was not the thing Syloson desired; the love of his country was his predominant passion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would settle him at Samos, without shedding the blood of his citizens, by driving out the person that had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius consented and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with success.

SECTION II.

Revolt and reduction of Babylon.

A. M. 3488. In the beginning of the fifth year of Darius, Babylon
 Ant. J. C. 516. revolted, and could not be reduced till after a twenty months' siege.* This city, formerly mistress of the East, grew impatient of the Persian yoke, especially after the removing of the imperial seat to Susa, which very much diminished Babylon's wealth and grandeur. The Babylonians, taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Persia, first on the death of Cambyzes, and afterwards on the massacre of the Magians, made secretly for four years together all kinds of preparations for war. When they thought the city sufficiently stored with provisions for many years, they set up the standard of rebellion; which obliged Darius to besiege them with all his forces. Now God continued to accomplish those terrible threatnings he had denounced against Babylon: that he would not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waste with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal solitude. In order to fulfil these predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel against Darius, and by that means to draw upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire: and they themselves were the first to put these prophecies in execution, by destroying a great number of their own people, as will be seen presently. It is probable that the Jews, of whom a considerable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city before the siege was formed, as the prophets Isaiah† and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before, and Zechariah very lately, in the following terms: *Thou Zion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country and save thyself.*

The Babylonians, to make their provisions last the longer, and to

* Herod. I. iii. c. 120—122.

† Isa. xlviii. 20. Jer. li. vi. 1. Zeck. ii. 6—9.

enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was heard of; which was, to destroy all such of their own people as were unserviceable on this occasion. For this purpose they assembled together all their wives and children, and strangled them. Only every man was allowed to keep his best beloved wife, and one servant-maid to do the business of the family.

After this cruel execution, the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themselves out of all danger, both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vast quantity of provisions they had laid up, began to insult the besiegers from the tops of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Persians, for the space of eighteen months, did all that force or stratagem was capable of, to make themselves masters of the city; nor did they forget to make use of the same means as had so happily succeeded with Cyrus some years before; I mean that of turning the course of the river. But all their efforts were fruitless; and Darius began almost to despair of taking the place, when a stratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was strangely surprised one morning to see Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven lords that made the association against the Magians; to see him, I say, appear before him all over blood, with his nose and ears cut off, and his whole body disfigured with wounds. Starting up from his throne, he cried out, *Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus?—You yourself, O king,* replied Zopyrus. *The desire I had of rendering you service has put me into this condition. As I was fully persuaded that you never would have consented to this method, I took counsel alone of the zeal which I have for your service.* He then opened to him his design of going over to the enemy; and they settled every thing together that was proper to be done. The king could not see him set out upon this extraordinary project without the utmost affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city; and having told them who he was, was soon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having dissuaded him from continuing any longer before a city which it was impossible for him to take. He offered the Babylonians his service, which could not fail of being highly useful to them, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the Persians, and since the desire of revenge would inspire him with fresh courage and resolution. His name and person were both well known at Babylon: the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his wounds, testified for him; and, by proofs not to be suspected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore placed implicit confidence in whatsoever he told them, and gave him moreover the command of as many troops as he desired. In the first sally he made he cut

off 1000 of the besiegers: a few days after he killed double the number; and on the third time, 4000 of their men lay dead upon the spot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus; the whole city strove who should extol him most, and they had not words sufficient to express their high value for him, and how happy they esteemed themselves in having gained so great a man. He was now declared generalissimo of their forces, and intrusted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and made him by that means master of a city, which he never could have been able to take either by force or famine.

As powerful as this prince was, he found himself incapable of making a sufficient recompense for so great a service; and he used often to say, that he would with pleasure sacrifice 100 Babylonians, if he had them, to restore Zopyrus to the condition he was in before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himself. He settled upon him, during life, the whole revenue of this opulent city, of which he alone had procured him the possession, and heaped all the honours upon him that a king could possibly confer upon a subject. Megabyzus, who commanded the Persian army in Egypt against the Athenians, was the son to this Zopyrus; and that Zopyrus who went over to the Athenians as a deserter, was his grandson.

No sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon, than he ordered the 100 gates to be pulled down, and all the walls of that proud city to be entirely demolished, that she might never be in a condition to rebel more against him. If he had pleased to make use of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occasion have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himself with causing 3000 of those who were principally concerned in the revolt to be impaled, and granted a pardon to all the rest. And, in order to hinder the depopulation of the city, he caused 50,000 women to be brought from the several provinces of his empire, to supply the place of those whom the inhabitants had so cruelly destroyed at the beginning of the siege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty she had exercised towards the Jews, in falling upon a free people without any reason or provocation; in destroying their government, laws, and worship; in forcing them from their country, and transporting them to a strange land; where they imposed a most grievous yoke of servitude upon them, and made use of all their power to crush and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however by God, and having the honour to be styled his peculiar people.

SECTION III.

Darius prepares for an expedition against the Scythians. A digression upon the manners and customs of that nation.

A. M. 3490. After the reduction of Babylon,* Darius made great
Ant. J. C. 514. preparations for war against the Scythians, who inhabited that large tract of land which lies between the Danube and the Tanais. His pretence for undertaking this war was, to be revenged of that nation for the invasion of Asia by their ancestors:† a very frivolous and sorry pretext; and a very ridiculous ground for reviving an old quarrel, which had ceased 120 years before.

Whilst the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which lasted eight-and-twenty years, the Scythians' wives married their slaves. When the husbands were on their return home, these slaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and disputed their entrance into their country. After some battles fought with nearly equal loss on both sides, the masters considering that it was doing too much honour to their slaves to put them upon the foot of soldiers, marched against them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This stratagem had the intended effect: for not being able to bear the sight of their masters thus armed, they all ran away.

I design in this place to imitate Herodotus, who in writing of this war takes occasion to give an ample account of all that relates to the customs and manners of the Scythians. But I shall be much more brief in my account of this matter than he is.

A digression concerning the Scythians.

Formerly there were Scythians both in Europe and Asia, most of them inhabiting those parts that lie towards the North. I design now chiefly to treat of the first, namely, of the European Scythians.

Historians, in the accounts they have left us of the manners and character of the Scythians, relate things of them that are entirely opposite and contradictory to one another. One while they represent them as the justest and most moderate people in the world: another while they describe them as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carried its cruelty to such excesses, as are shocking to human nature. This contrariety is a manifest proof, that those different characters are to be applied to different nations in that vast and extensive tract of country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one and the same general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

Strabo‡ has quoted authors, who mention some Scythians dwelling upon the coast of the Euxine sea, that cut the throats of all

* Herod. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. ii. c. 5.

† Mention is made of this before, in chap. iii. &c. of this vol. ‡ Strabo, l. vii. p. 208.

strangers who came amongst them, fed upon their flesh, and made pots and drinking vessels of their skulls, when they had dried them. Herodotus,* in describing the sacrifices which the Scythians offered to the god Mars, says, they used to offer human victims. Their manner of making treaties,† according to this author's account was very strange and particular.

They first poured wine into a large earthen vessel,‡ and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let some of their blood run into the wine, and stained likewise their armour therein; after which they themselves, and all that were present, drank of that liquor, uttering the heaviest imprecations against the person that should violate the treaty.

But what the same historian relates,§ concerning the ceremonies observed at the funeral of their kings, is still more extraordinary. I shall only mention such of those ceremonies, as may serve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and wrapped it up in wax; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, exposing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finished, they laid the body down in the place appointed for the burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his master of horse, his chancellor, his secretary of state, who were all put to death for that purpose. To these they added several horses, a great number of drinking vessels, and a certain part of all the furniture belonging to their deceased monarch: after which they filled up the grave, and covered it with earth. This was not all. When the anniversary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the same number of horses, and, having first prepared their bodies for the purpose, by embowelling them and stuffing them with straw, they placed the officers on horseback round the king's tomb, probably to serve him as guards. These ceremonies in all appearance took their rise from a notion they might have of their king's being still alive; and upon this supposition they judged it necessary, that he should have his court and ordinary officers still about him. Whether employments, which terminated in this manner, were much sought after, I will not determine.

It is now time to pass to the consideration of their manners and customs, milder and more humane; though possibly in another sense they may appear to be equally savage. The account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from Justin.¶ According to this author, the Scythians lived in great innocence and simplicity. They were ignorant indeed of all arts and sciences, but then they

* Herod. l. iv. c. 62.

† This custom was still practised by the Iberians, who were originally Scythians, in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it. Ann. l. xii. c. 47.

‡ Herod. l. iv. c. 70.

§ Ibid. c. 71, 72.

¶ Lib. ii. c. 2

were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any division of their lands amongst themselves, says Justin: it would have been in vain for them to have done it; since they did not apply themselves to cultivate them. Horace, in one of his odes, of which I shall insert a part by and by, tells us, that some of them did cultivate a certain portion of land allotted to them for one year only, at the expiration of which they were relieved by others, who succeeded them on the same conditions. They had no houses, nor settled habitation; but wandered continually with their cattle and their flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in wagons, covered with the skins of beasts, which were all the houses they had to dwell in. Justice* was observed and maintained amongst them through the natural temper and disposition of the people, and not by any compulsion of laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No crime was more severely punished among them than theft; and that with good reason. For their herds and flocks, in which all their riches consisted, being never shut up, how could they possibly subsist, if theft had not been most rigorously punished? They coveted neither silver nor gold, like the rest of mankind; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were strangers to the use of linen or woollen manufactures; and to defend themselves from the violent and continual cold of their climate, they made use of nothing but the skins of beasts.

I said before, that these manners of the Scythians might appear to some people very wild and savage. And indeed, what can be said for a nation that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has herds of cattle, of which they content themselves with eating the milk, and neglect the flesh? The wool of their sheep might supply them with warm and comfortable clothes, and yet they use no other raiment than the skins of animals. But, that which is the greatest demonstration of their ignorance and savageness, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and silver, which have always been had in such great request in all civilized nations.

But, oh! how happy was this ignorance; how vastly preferable this savage state to our pretended politeness! This contempt of all the conveniences of life, says Justin,† was attended with such an honesty and uprightness of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbours' goods. For the desire of riches can only take place, where riches can be made use of. And would to God, says the same author, we could see the same moderation prevail among the rest of mankind and the like indifference to the goods

* *Justitia gentis ingenio culta, non legibus.*

† *Hæc continentia illis morum quoque justitiam indidit, nihil alienum concupiscentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido est, ubi et usus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus similis moderatio et abstinencia alieni foret! profectò non tantum bellorum per omnia secula terris omnibus continuaretur; neque plus hominum ferrum et arma, quam naturalis fatum conditio raperet.*

of other people! The world would not then have seen wars perpetually succeeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of those that are cut off by the sword, exceed that of those who fall by the irreversible decree and law of nature.

Justin finishes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. It is a surprising thing, says he,* that a happy natural disposition, without the assistance of education, should have inspired the Scythians with such a wisdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain to, neither by the institutions of their legislators, nor the rules and precepts of all their philosophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation should be preferable to those of a people so much improved and refined by the polite arts and sciences. So much more happy effects were produced by the ignorance of vice in the one, than by the knowledge of virtue in the other!

The Scythian fathers† thought, with good reason, that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another. One of their kings, whose name was Scylurus, finding himself draw near his end, sent for all his children, and giving to each of them one after another a bundle of arrows tied fast together, desired them to break them. Each used his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very easily broken.—Let this image, says the father, be a lesson to you of the mighty advantage that results from union and concord. In order to strengthen and enlarge these domestic advantages,‡ the Scythians used to admit their friends into the same terms of union with them as their relations. Friendship was considered by them as a sacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from that which nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.

Ancient authors seemed to have vied with each other who should most extol the innocence of manners, that reigned among the Scythians, by magnificent encomiums. That of Horace I shall transcribe at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to the Scythians, but joins the Getæ with them, who were their near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs against the luxury and irregularities of the age in which he lived. After having told us, that peace and tranquillity of mind is not to be procured either by immense riches, or sumptuous buildings, he adds, *A hundred times happier are the Scythians,§ who roam about in their*

* *Prosum ut admirabile videatur, hec illis naturam dare, quod Græci longâ sapientium doctrinâ præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultis barbaris collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quàm in his cognitio virtutis!*
 † *Plut. de garrul. p. 511.*
 ‡ *Lucian. in Tex. p. 51.*

§ *Campestris melius Scythæ,
 Agorum plaustra vagas ritè trahunt domos;
 Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ;
 Immota quibus iugera liberæ
 Fruges et Cerecem ferunt!*

itinerant houses, their wagons; and happier even are the frozen Getae. With them the earth, without being divided by land-marks, produceth her fruits, which are gathered in common. There each man's tillage is but of one year's continuance; and when that term of his labour is expired, he is relieved by a successor, who takes his place, and manures the ground on the same conditions. There the innocent step-mothers form no cruel designs against the lives of their husbands' children by a former wife. The wives do not pretend to domineer over their husbands on account of their fortunes, nor are to be corrupted by the insinuating language of spruce adulterers. The greatest portion of the maiden, is her father's and mother's virtue, her inviolable attachment to her husband, and her perfect disregard of all other men. They dare not be unfaithful, because they are convinced that infidelity is a crime, and its reward is death.

When we consider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we possibly forbear to look upon them with esteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at least, bear a great resemblance to that of the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation; who did not till the ground; who had no other occupation than that of feeding their flocks and herds; and who dwelt in tents? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not understanding, or rather for despising, the use of gold and silver? Is it not to be wished that those metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth,* and that they had never been dug from thence to become the causes and instruments of almost every crime? What advantage could gold or silver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the necessities of men actually require, and who took care to set narrow bounds to those necessities? It is no wonder, that living as they did, without houses, they should make no account of those arts that were so highly valued in other places, as architecture, sculpture, and painting; or that they should despise fine clothes and costly furniture, since they found the skins of beasts sufficient to defend them against the inclemency of the seasons. After all, can we truly say, that these pretended advantages contribute to the real happiness of life? Were those nations that had them in the greatest

Nec cultura placet langior annuâ,
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali recreat sorte vicariâ.
Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens:
Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux, nec nitido fudit adultero
Dux est magna parentum
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdus castitas:
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium est. mori.

Her. lib. III. Od. 94.

* Aurum irreperitum, et sic mellis sitam
Cum terra celat, spernere fortior,
Quam cogere humanos in usus
Omnis sacrum rapiente dextra

Her. lib. III. Od. 2.

plenty, more healthful or robust than the Scythians? Did they live to a greater age than they? Or did they spend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or a greater exemption from cares and troubles? Let us acknowledge, to the shame of ancient philosophy, that the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themselves to the study of wisdom, carried it however to a greater height in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the name of goods or riches to any thing, but what, humanly speaking, truly deserved that title; as health, strength, courage, the love of labour and liberty, innocence of life, sincerity, an abhorrence of all fraud and dissimulation, and, in a word, all such qualities as render a man more virtuous and more valuable. If to these happy dispositions, we could add the knowledge and love of the true God and of our Redeemer, without which the most exalted virtues are of no value, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of the present age, we are tempted to believe, that the pencils which drew so beautiful a picture, were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Justin and Horace have decked them with virtues that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the same testimony of them; and Homer in particular, whose opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them *the most just and upright of men*.

But at length (who could believe it?) luxury, which might be thought to thrive only in an agreeable and delightful soil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the fences, which the constant practice of several ages, founded in the nature of the climate and the genius of the people, had set against it, did at last effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them, in that respect, upon a level with the other nations, where it had long been predominant. It is Strabo* that acquaints us with this particular, which is very worthy of our notice: he lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. After having greatly commended the simplicity, frugality, and innocence, of the ancient Scythians, and their extreme aversion to all deceit and dissimulation, he owns, that their intercourse in later times with other nations, had extirpated those virtues, and planted the contrary vices in their stead. One would think, says he, that the natural effect of such an intercourse with civilized and polite nations, would only have been that of rendering them more humanized and courteous, by softening that air of savageness and ferocity, which they had before: but, instead of that, it introduced a total ruin of their ancient manners and transformed them into quite different creatures. It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenæus says,† the Scythians abandoned themselves to voluptuousness and luxury, at the

* Lib. vii. p. 381.

† Lib. xii. p. 594.

same time that they suffered self-interest and avarice to prevail amongst them.

Strabo, in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny, but that it was to the Romans and Grecians this fatal change of manners was owing. Our example, says he, has perverted almost all the nations of the world: by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleasure amongst them, we have taught them insincerity and fraud, and a thousand kinds of shameful and infamous arts to get money. It is a miserable talent, and a very unhappy distinction for a nation, through its ingenuity in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing that tends to nourish and promote luxury, to become the corruptor of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were, of their vices and debauchery.

It was against these Scythians, but at a time when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmost vigour, that Darius turned his arms. This expedition I am now going to relate.

SECTION IV.

Darius's expedition against the Scythians.

I have already observed,* that the pretence used by Darius, for undertaking this war against the Scythians, was the irruption formerly made by that people into Asia; but in reality he had no other end than to satisfy his own ambition, and to extend his conquests.

His brother Artabanes, for whom he had a great regard, and who, on his side, had no less zeal for the true interests of the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occasion to speak his sentiments with all the freedom that an affair of such importance required. *Great prince*, says he to him,† *they who form any great enterprise, ought carefully to consider, whether it will be beneficial or prejudicial to the state; whether the execution of it will be easy or difficult; whether it be likely to augment or diminish their glory; and lastly, whether the thing designed be consistent with, or contrary to, the rules of justice. For my own part, I cannot perceive, sir, even though you were sure of success, what advantage you can propose to yourself in undertaking a war against the Scythians. Consider the vast distance between them and you; and the prodigious space of land and sea that separates them from your dominions; besides, they are a people that dwell in wild and uncultivated deserts; that have neither towns nor houses; that have no fixed settlement, or place of habitation; and that are destitute of all manner of riches. What have your troops to gain from such an expedition? or, to speak more properly, what have they not rather to lose?*

Accustomed as the Scythians are to remove from country to country,

* Herod. l. iv. c. 83—96.

† Omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, estimare debent, an, quod inchoatur, reipublicæ utile. Ipais gloriosum aut promptum effectum, aut certe non arduum sit. Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 76.

if they should think proper to fly before you, not out of cowardice or fear, for they are a very courageous and warlike people, but only with a design to harass and ruin your army by continual and fatiguing marches; what will become of us in such an uncultivated, barren, and naked country, where we shall neither find forage for our horses, nor provision for our men? I am afraid, sir, that through a false notion of glory, and the insinuations of flatterers, you may be hurried into a war, which may turn to the dishonour of the nation. You now enjoy the sweets of peace and tranquillity in the midst of your people, where you are the object of their admiration, and the author of their happiness. You are sensible the gods have placed you upon the throne to be their coadjutor, or, to speak more properly, to be the dispenser of their bounty, rather than the minister of their power. You pride yourself upon being the protector, the guardian, and the father of your subjects: and you often declare to us, because you really believe so, that you look upon yourself as invested with sovereign power, only to make your people happy. What exquisite joy must it be to so great a prince as you are, to be the source of so many blessings: and under the shadow of your name to preserve such infinite numbers of people in so desirable a tranquillity! Is not the glory of a king who loves his subjects, and is beloved by them; who, instead of waging war against neighbouring or distant nations, makes use of his power to keep them in peace and amity with each other; is not such a glory infinitely preferable to that of ravaging and spoiling a country, of filling the earth with slaughter and desolation, with horror, consternation, and despair? But there is one motive more, which ought to have a greater influence upon you than all others; I mean that of justice. Thanks to the gods, you are not of the number of those princes, who acknowledge no other law than that of force,* and who imagine that they have a peculiar privilege annexed to their dignity, which private persons have not, of invading other men's properties. You do not make your greatness consist in being able to do whatever you will,† but in willing only what may be done without infringing the laws, or violating justice. To speak plain, shall one man be reckoned unjust, and a robber, for seizing on a few acres of his neighbour's estate; and shall another be reckoned just and great, and have the title of hero, because he seizes upon and usurps whole provinces? Permit me, sir, to ask you, what title have you to Scythia? What injury have the Scythians done you? What reason can you allege for declaring war against them? The war, indeed, in which you have been engaged against the Babylonians, was at the same time both just and necessary: the gods have accordingly crowned your arms with success. It belongs to you, sir, to judge, whether that which you are now going to undertake, be of the same nature.

* Id in summâ fortunâ æquius, quod validius: et sua retinere, privatis domus: de aliquis certare, regiam laudem esse. *Tacit. Annal. l. xxv. c. l.*

† Ut felicitatis est quantum velis posse, sic magnitudinis velle quantum possis. *Phil. in Penegyr. Traj.*

Nothing but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince and the good of his country, could inspire such a freedom: as, on the other hand, nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius,* as Tacitus observes of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things which are generally incompatible, the sovereignty and liberty. Far from being offended at the freedom used by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, though he did not follow it; for he had taken his resolution. He departed from Susa at the head of an army of 700,000 men; and his fleet, consisting of 600 ships, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations that dwelt upon the sea-coasts of Asia Minor and the Hellespont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Bosphorus, which he passed upon a bridge of boats: after which, having made himself master of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube, otherwise called the Ister, where he had ordered his fleet to join him. In several places on his march he caused pillars to be erected with magnificent inscriptions, in one of which he suffered himself to be called, *the best and handsomest of all men living*. What vanity! what a littleness of soul was this!

And yet if this prince's faults had terminated only in sentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excusable than they do, at least they would not have been so pernicious to his subjects. But how shall we reconcile Darius's disposition,† which seemed to be so exceeding humane and gentle, with his barbarous and cruel behaviour towards Oebazus, a venerable old man, whose merit, as well as quality, entitled him to respect? This nobleman had three sons, who were all preparing themselves to attend the king in this expedition against the Scythians. Upon Darius's departure from Susa, the good old father begged as a favour of him, that he would please to leave him one of his sons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age, *One*, replied Darius, *will not be sufficient for you; I will leave you all the three*: and immediately he caused them all to be put to death.

When the army had passed the Danube upon a bridge of boats,‡ the king was for having the bridge broken down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving so considerable a detachment of his troops as was necessary to guard it. But one of his officers represented to him, that it might be proper to keep that, as a necessary resource, in case the war with the Scythians should prove unfortunate. The king acquiesced, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians, who built it; giving them leave, at the same time, to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the space of two months: he then proceeded on his march to Scythia.

* Nerva Cæsar res olim dissociabiles miscuit, principatum et libertatem. Tacit. de vit. Agric. cap. iii.

† Herod. l. iv. c. 64. Senec. de ira, c. 16.

‡ Herod. l. iv. c. 99. 101.

As soon as the Scythians were informed that Darius was marching against them,* they immediately entered into consultation upon the measures necessary to be taken. They were very sensible, that they were not in a condition to resist by themselves so formidable an enemy. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring nations, and desired their assistance, alleging, that the danger was general, and concerned them all, and that it was their common interest to oppose an enemy, whose views of conquest were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable answers to their demand; others absolutely refused to enter into a war which, they said, did not regard them; but they had soon reason to repent their refusal.

One wise precaution taken by the Scythians,† was to place their wives and children in safety, by sending them in carriages to the most northern parts of the country; and with them likewise they sent all their herds and flocks, reserving nothing to themselves but what was necessary for the support of their army. Another precaution of theirs was to fill up all their wells, and stop up their springs, and to consume all the forage in those parts through which the Persian army was to pass. This done, they marched, in conjunction with their allies, against the enemy, not with a view of giving him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him into such places as suited best their interest. Whenever the Persians seemed disposed to attack them, they still retired farther up into the country; and thereby drew them on, from place to place, into the territories of those nations that had refused to enter into alliance with them, whose lands became a prey to the two armies of the Persians and Scythians.

Darius,‡ weary of these tedious and fatiguing pursuits, sent a herald to the king of the Scythians, whose name was Indathysus, with this message in his name:—*Prince of the Scythians, wherefore dost thou continually fly before me? Why dost thou not stop somewhere or other, either to give me battle, if thou believest thyself able to encounter me, or, if thou thinkest thyself too weak, to acknowledge thy master, by presenting him with earth and water?* The Scythians were a high-spirited people, extremely jealous of their liberty, and professed enemies to all slavery. Indathysus sent Darius the following answer:—*If I fly before thee, prince of the Persians, it is not because I fear thee: what I do now, is no more than what I am used to do in time of peace. We Scythians have neither cities nor lands to defend: if thou hast a mind to force us to come to an engagement, come and attack the tombs of our fathers, and thou shalt find what manner of men we are. As to the title of master, which thou assumest, keep it for other nations than the Scythians. For my part, I acknowledge no other master than the great Jupiter, one of my own ancestors, and the goddess Vesta.*

* Herod. l. iv. c. 108, 110, 112.

† Ibid. c. 122, 125.

‡ Ibid. c. 120, 127.

The farther Darius advanced into the country,* the greater hardships his army was exposed to. Just when it was reduced to the last extremity, there came a herald from the Scythian prince, who was commissioned to present to Darius a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The king desired to know the meaning of those gifts. The messenger answered, that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the Persian king to find out the meaning. Darius concluded at first, that the Scythians thereby consented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were represented by the mouse and frog; as also their cavalry, whose swiftness was represented by the bird; together with their own persons and arms, signified by the arrows. But Gobryas, one of the seven lords that had deposed the Magian impostor, expounded the enigma in the following manner: *Know, says he to the Persians, that unless you can fly in the air like birds, or hide yourselves in the earth like mice, or dive under the water like frogs, you shall in no wise be able to avoid the arrows of the Scythians.*

And,† indeed, the whole Persian army, marching in a vast, uncultivated, and barren country, completely destitute of water, was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin: nor was Darius himself exempt from the common danger. He owed his preservation to a camel, which was loaded with water, and followed him with great difficulty through that wild and desert country. The king afterwards did not forget this benefactor; to reward him for the service he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return to Asia, he settled a certain district of his own upon him for his peculiar use and subsistence, for which reason the place was called Gaugamela, that is in the Persian tongue, *the Camel's habitation*. It was near the same place that Darius Codomannus received a second overthrow by Alexander the Great.

Darius deliberated no longer,‡ finding himself under an absolute necessity of quitting his rash enterprise. He began then to think in earnest of returning home; and saw but too plainly, that there was no time to be lost. As soon therefore as night came, the Persians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires, as usual; and leaving the old men and the sick behind them in the camp, together with all their asses, which made a sufficient noise, they set out upon their march, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone till the next morning; whereupon they immediately sent a considerable detachment to the Danube: this detachment being perfectly well acquainted with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a great while before the Persians. The Scythians had sent expresses beforehand to persuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country and the latter had promised to do it, but without designing to exe-

* Herod. l. iv. c. 128. 129. s. 124. 142.

† Strabo, l. vii. p. 305. l. xvi. p. 737.

‡ Herod. l. iv.

cute their promise. The Scythians now pressed them to it more earnestly, and represented to them, that the time prescribed by Darius for staying there was elapsed; that they were at liberty to return home, without either violating their word or their duty; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yoke of their subjection, and make themselves a happy and free people; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterprises against any of his neighbours.

The Ionians entered into consultation upon the affair. Miltiades the Athenian, who was prince, or, as the Greeks call it, tyrant, of the Chersonesus of Thrace, at the mouth of the Hellespont, was one of those that accompanied Darius, and furnished him with ships for his enterprise. Having the public interest more at heart than his private advantage,* he was of opinion that they should comply with the request of the Scythians and embrace so favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia: all the other commanders acquiesced in his sentiments, except Hystæus, the tyrant of Miletus. When it came to his turn to speak, he represented to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius; that it was under that prince's protection that each of them was master in his own city; and if the power of the Persians should sink or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose their tyrants, and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs were influenced by his opinion; and, as is usual in most cases, the consideration of private interest prevailed over the public good. They resolved therefore to wait for Darius: but, in order to deceive the Scythians, and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared to them, that they had resolved to retire, pursuant to their request; and, the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the same time to do their part, to return speedily back to meet the common enemy, to attack and defeat them. The Scythians being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a second time.

They missed Darius,† who had taken a different route from that in which they expected to come up with him. He arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube; and, finding it broken down, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and that consequently he should be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hystæus, the Milesian, who at last answered, and put the king out of his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge; so that Darius repassed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyzus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country, and entirely reduce it to his obedience. After which he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following, in order to refresh his

* *Amicior omnium libertati quam suæ dominationi fuit.* *Corn. Nep.*

† *Herod. l. iv. c. 141. 144.*

army, which had suffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

Megabyzus continued some time in Thrace;* whose inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they had the discretion to unite their forces, and to choose one chief commander. Some of them had very particular customs. In one of their districts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expressed great sorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the prospect of the misery which the new-born infant had to experience. While, on the other hand, on the death of any of their family, they all rejoiced, because they looked upon the deceased person as happy only from that moment wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another district, where polygamy was in fashion, when a husband died, it was a great dispute among his wives which of them was best beloved. She in whose favour the contest was decided, had the privilege of being sacrificed by her nearest relation upon the tomb of her husband, and of being buried with him; whilst all the other wives envied her happiness, and thought themselves in some sort dishonoured.

Darius,† on his return to Sardis, after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, having learnt for certain that he owed both his own safety and that of his whole army to Hystieus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince to his court, and desired him freely to ask any favour in recompense of his service. Hystieus hereupon desired the king to give him Mircina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His request was readily granted; and he returned to Miletus, where he caused a fleet of ships to be equipped, and then set out for Thrace. Having taken possession of the territory granted him, he immediately set about the execution of his project in building a city.

Megabyzus,‡ who was then governor of Thrace for Darius, immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in those quarters. He considered, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it abounded in timber fit for building of ships; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who were able to furnish great numbers of men for land and sea service; that, if once those people were under the guidance of a leader so skilful and enterprising as Hystieus, they might become so powerful both by sea and land, that it would be no longer possible for the king to keep them in subjection; especially considering that they had a great many gold and silver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any project they might think fit to form. At his return to Sardis, he represented all these things to the king, who

* Herod. i. v. c. 1.

† Ibid. iv. c. 11. 23.

‡ Ibid. i. v. c. 23. 25.

was convinced by his reasons, and therefore sent for Hystieus to come to him at Sardis, pretending to have some great designs in view, wherein he wanted the assistance of his counsel. When he had brought him to his court by this means, he carried him to Susa, making him believe that he set an extraordinary value upon a friend of such fidelity and understanding; two qualifications that rendered him very dear to him, and of which he had given such memorable proofs in the Scythian expedition; giving him to understand, at the same time, that he should be able to find something for him in Persia, which would make him ample amends for all that he could leave behind him. Hystieus, pleased with so honourable a distinction, and finding himself likewise under a necessity of complying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and left Aristagoras to govern Miletus in his room.

Whilst Megabyzus was still in Thrace,* he sent several Persian noblemen to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, to require him to give earth and water to Darius his master: this was the usual form of one prince's submitting to another. Amyntas readily complied with that request, and paid all imaginable honours to the envoys. Towards the end of an entertainment which he made for them, they desired that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the custom of the country: however, the king would not venture to refuse them. The Persian noblemen, being heated with wine, and thinking they might use the same freedom as in their own country, did not observe a due decorum towards those princesses. The king's son, whose name was Alexander, could not see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, without great resentment and indignation. Wherefore, upon some pretence or other, he contrived to send the ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again presently, and had the precaution to get the king, his father, also out of the company. In this interval he caused some young men to be dressed like women, and to be armed with poniards under their garments. These pretended ladies came into the room instead of the others; and when the Persians began to treat them as they had before treated the princesses, they drew out their poniards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this slaughter soon reached Susa; and the king appointed commissioners to take cognizance of the matter: but Alexander, by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair, so that nothing came of it.

The Scythians,† to be revenged of Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube, and ravaged all the part of Thrace that had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont. Miltiades, to avoid their fury, abandoned the Chersonesus: but after the enemy retired, he returned thither again, and was restored to the same power he had before over the inhabitants of the country

* Herod. l. v. c. 17. 21

† Ibid. l. vi. c. 48.

SECTION V.

Darius's conquest of India.

A. M. 3496. About the same time, that is, in the thirteenth Ant. J. C. 506. year of Darius's reign, this prince having an ambition to extend his dominion eastwards, first resolved, in order to facilitate his conquests, to get a proper knowledge of the country. To this end,* he caused a fleet to be built and fitted out at Caspatyra, a city upon the Indus, and did the same at several other places on the same river, as far as the frontiers of Scythia.† The command of this fleet was given to Scylax,‡ a Grecian of Caryandia, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down that river, and get all the knowledge he possibly could of the country on both sides, quite down to the mouth of the river; to pass from thence into the Southern Ocean, and to steer his course afterwards to the west, and so return back that way to Persia. Scylax, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed quite down the river Indus, entered the Red Sea by the Straits of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his setting out from Caspatyra, he arrived in Egypt at the same port from whence Necho,§ king of Egypt, had formerly sent the Phœnicians, who were in his service, with orders to sail round the coasts of Africa. Very probably this was the same port where now stands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the Red Sea. From thence Scylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of all his discoveries. Darius afterwards entered India with an army, and subjected all that vast country. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of so important a war. But Herodotus says not one word about it: he only tells us, that India made the twentieth province,|| or government, of the Persian empire, and that the annual revenue accruing from hence to Darius was 360 talents of gold, which amount to near 11,000,000 livres French money, something less than 500,000*l.* sterling.

SECTION VI.

The revolt of the Ionians.

A. M. 3500. Darius,¶ after his return to Susa from his Scythian Ant. J. C. 304. expedition, had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of Megabyzus.

* Ibid. l. iv. c. 44.

† Asiatic Scythia is meant.

‡ There is a geographical treatise entitled Περὶ Ἰνδῶν, and composed by one Scylax of Caryandia, who is thought to be the same person spoken of in this place. But that opinion is attended with some difficulties, which have given occasion to many learned dissertations.

§ Herod. l. iv. c. 42.

|| Lib. iii. c. 94.

¶ Lib. v. c. 25.

From a small spark,* kindled by a sedition at Naxos, a great flame arose, which gave occasion to a considerable war. Naxos was the most important island of the Cyclades in the *Ægean* sea, now called the Archipelago. In this sedition the principal inhabitants having been overpowered by the populace, who were the greater number, many of the richest families were banished out of the island. Hereupon they fled to Miletus, and implored the assistance of Aristagoras, to reinstate them in their native place. He was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hystieus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along with him to Susa. Aristagoras promised to give these exiles the assistance they desired.

But not being powerful enough himself to execute what he had promised, he went to Sardis, and communicated the affair to Artaphernes. He represented to him that this was a very favourable opportunity for reducing Naxos under the power of Darius; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades would fall of themselves into his hands, one after another; that in consequence the isle of Eubœa (now Negropont,) which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near them, would be easily conquered, which would give the king a free passage into Greece, and the means of subjecting all that country; and, in short, that 100 ships would be sufficient for the effectual execution of this enterprise. Artaphernes, was so pleased with the project, that instead of 100 vessels, which Aristagoras required, he promised him 200, in case he obtained the king's consent to the expedition.

The king, charmed with the mighty hopes with which he was flattered, very readily approved the enterprise, though founded only upon injustice and a boundless ambition, as also upon perfidiousness on the part of Aristagoras and Artaphernes. No consideration gave him a moment's pause. The most injurious project is formed and accepted without the least reluctance or scruple: motives of advantage and convenience solely determine. The isle lies convenient for the Persians; this is conceived a sufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms. And, indeed, most of the other expeditions of this prince had no better principle.

As soon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's consent to this project, he made the necessary preparations for executing it. The better to conceal his design, and to surprise the people of Naxos, he spread a report that his fleet was going towards the Hellespont; and the spring following he sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletus under the command of Megabates, a Persian nobleman of the royal family of Achæmenes. But being directed in his commission to obey the orders of Aristagoras, the high-spirited Persian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, especially one who treated him in a haughty and imperious manner.

This pique occasioned a breach between the two generals, which rose so high, that Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design formed against them. Upon which they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the capital of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire.

This project having thus miscarried,* Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras, and entirely ruined his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionian instantly foresaw that this accident would be attended not only with the loss of his government, but with his utter ruin. The desperate situation to which he was reduced, made him think of revolting from the king, as the only expedient whereby he could possibly save himself. No sooner had he formed this design, than a messenger came to him from Hystieus, who gave him the same counsel. Hystieus, who had now been some years at the Persian court, being disgusted with the manners of that nation, and having an ardent desire to return to his own country, thought this the most likely means of accomplishing his wish, and therefore gave Aristagoras that counsel. He flattered himself, that in case any troubles arose in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them; and, in fact, the thing happened according to his expectation. As soon as Aristagoras found his design seconded by the orders of Hystieus, he imparted them to the principal persons of Ionia, whom he found extremely well disposed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himself wholly in making preparations for it.

A. M. 3502. The people of Tyre, having been reduced to slavery Ant. J. C. 502. when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppression for the space of seventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were restored, according to Isaiah's prophecy,† to the possession of their ancient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the services he expected to receive from that city (which was so powerful by sea) in reducing the Ionians to their ancient subjection. This was in the nineteenth year of Darius's reign.

The next year, Aristagoras,‡ in order to engage the Ionians to adhere the more closely to him, reinstated them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and resigned it into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his influence, and perhaps by the fear that they would be

* Herod. l. v. c. 25, 26.

† And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire. Isa. xlii. 17.

‡ Herod. l. v. c. 37, 38.

forced to it whether they would or no, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the same in every city. They complied the more readily, as the Persian power, since the check it received in Scythia, was the less able to protect them against the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty and a state of independence, and professed enemies to all tyranny. Having united them all in this manner in one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he set up the standard of rebellion against the king, and made great preparations by sea and land for supporting a war against him.

To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour,* Aristagoras went in the beginning of the following year to Lacedæmon, in order to bring that city into his interest, and engage it to furnish him with succours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta. He was the son of Anaxandrides by a second wife, whom the Ephori had obliged him to marry, because he had no issue by the first. He had by her three sons besides Cleomenes, namely, Doræus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, the two last of which ascended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turns. Aristagoras then addressed himself to Cleomenes, and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him, and represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that Sparta being the most powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to their liberty; that the Persians, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire, and the place of the king's residence: he showed him, at the same time, a plan of all the nations and towns through which they were to pass, engraven upon a little plate of brass which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes desired three days' time to consider of his proposals. That term being expired, he asked the Ionian how far it was from the Ionian sea to Susa, and how much time it required to go from the one place to the other. Aristagoras, without considering the effect his answer was likely to have upon Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Susa was about three months' journey.† Cleomenes was so amazed at this proposal, that he immediately ordered him to depart from Sparta before sun-set. Aristagoras nevertheless followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to win by arguments of another sort, that is, by presents

* Ibid. l. v. c. 38. 41. 49. 51.

† According to Herodotus's computation, who reckons the parasanga, a Persian measure, to contain 30 stadia, the distance from Sardis to Susa is 450 parasangs, or 13,500 stadia, which make 675 French leagues (for 20 stadia are generally reckoned to one of our common leagues.) So that by travelling 150 stadia per day, which make seven leagues and a half, French measure, it is ninety days' journey from Sardis to Susa. If they set out from Ephesus it would require about four days more; for Ephesus is 540 stadia from Sardis.

The first sum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to 30,000 livres of French money; that being refused, he still rose in his offers, till at last he proposed to give him fifty talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, as apprehending nothing from so young a child, hearing the proposals that were made, cried out: *Fly, father, fly, this stranger will corrupt you.* Cleomenes laughed, but yet observed the child's admonition, and actually retired: Aristagoras left Sparta.

From hence he proceeded to Athens,* where he found a more favourable reception. He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time when the Athenians were extremely well disposed to hearken to any proposals that could be made to them against the Persians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occasion. Hippias,† the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, who, about ten years before, had been banished, after having tried in vain abundance of methods for his re-establishment, at last went to Sardis, and made his application to Artaphernes. He insinuated himself so far into the good opinion of that governor, that he gave a favourable ear to all he said to the disadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced against them. The Athenians, having intelligence of this, sent an ambassador to Sardis, and desired of Artaphernes, not to give ear to what any of their outlaws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this message was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall Hippias. When this haughty answer was brought back to the Athenians, the whole city were violently enraged against the Persians. Aristagoras, coming thither just at this juncture, easily obtained all he desired. Herodotus remarks on this occasion, how much easier it is to impose upon a multitude, than upon a single person: and so Aristagoras found it; for he prevailed with 30,000 Athenians to come to a resolution, into which he could not persuade Cleomenes alone. They engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist him in his design; and it may be truly said, that this little fleet was the original source of all the calamities, in which both the Persians and Grecians were afterwards involved.

A. M. 3504. In the third year of this war,‡ the Ionians, having collected all their forces together, and being reinforced with the twenty vessels furnished by the city of Athens, and five more from Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, set sail for Ephesus, and leaving their ships there, they marched by land to the city of Sardis: finding the place in a defenceless condition, they soon made themselves masters of it; but the citadel, into which Artaphernes retired, they were not able to force. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently were very combustible,

* Herod. l. v. c. 55. 96, 97.

† This fact has been before treated at large in this volume.

‡ Herod. l. v. c. 99. 103.

an Ionian soldier having set fire to one house, the flames soon spread and communicated to the rest, and reduced the whole city to ashes. Upon this accident the Persians and Lydians, assembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them to think of retreating; and accordingly they marched back with all possible diligence, in order to re-embark at Ephesus: but the Persians arriving there almost as soon as they, attacked them vigorously, and destroyed a great number of their men. The Athenians, after the return of their ships, would never engage any more in this war, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Aristagoras.

Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis,* and of the part the Athenians took in that affair, he resolved from that very time to make war upon Greece: and that he might never forget this resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry out to him with a loud voice every night, when he was at supper: *Sir, remember the Athenians.* In the burning of Sardis it happened that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of that country, was consumed with the rest of the city. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians to burn all the temples they found in Greece: to which they were likewise induced by a religious motive, which I have explained before.

A. M. 3585. As Aristagoras,† the head manager of this revolt, Ant. J. C. 499. was Hystissus's lieutenant at Miletus, Darius suspected that the latter might probably be the contriver of the whole conspiracy: for which reason he entered into a free conference with him upon the subject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and the just grounds he had for his suspicion. Hystissus, who was a crafty courtier, and an expert master in the art of dissembling, appeared extremely surprised and afflicted; and speaking in a tone that at once expressed both sorrow and indignation, *Is it then possible, sir, said he to the king, for your majesty to have entertained so injurious a suspicion of the most faithful and most affectionate of your servants? I concerned in a rebellion against you! Alas! what is there in the world that could tempt me to it? Do I want any thing here? Am I not already raised to one of the highest stations in your court? And besides the honour I have of assisting at your councils, do I not daily receive new proofs of your bounty, by the numberless favours you heap upon me?* After this he insinuated, that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his absence and distance from the country; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebel; that if he had stayed at Miletus, the conspiracy would never have been formed; that the surest way to restore the king's affairs in that province, would be to send him thither to quell the insurrection; that he promised him, on the forfeiture of his head, to deliver Aristagoras into his hands; and engaged, besides all this, to make the large

* Herod. l. v. c. 105.

† Ibid. c. 105. 107.

island of Sardinia tributary to him.* The best princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a subject into their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they easily undeceive themselves. Darius, imposed upon by the air of sincerity with which Hystieus spoke on this occasion, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to Ionia, on condition he came back to the Persian court as soon as he had executed what he promised.

A. M. 3506.

Ant. J. C. 493. by the Athenians, and notwithstanding the considerable check they had received in Ionia, did not lose courage, but still pushed on their point with resolution. Their fleet set sail towards the Hellespont and the Propontis, and reduced Byzantium, with the greater part of the other Grecian cities, in that quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war, as also the people of Cyprus. The Persian generals, having divided their forces among themselves, marched three different ways against the rebels, and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain.

When Hystieus was arrived at Sardis,† his intriguing temper induced him to form a plot against the government, into which he drew a great number of Persians. But, perceiving by some discourse he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that governor, he thought it not safe for him to stay any longer at Sardis, and retired secretly the night following to the isle of Chios; from thence he sent a trusty messenger to Sardis, with letters for such of the Persians as he had gained to his party. This messenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the whole plot was discovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated. But still imagining, that he could bring about some enterprise of importance, if he were once at the head of the Ionian league, he made several attempts to get into Miletus, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours succeeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.

There,‡ being asked why he had so strongly urged Aristagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in such calamities, he made answer, that it was because the king had resolved to transport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere story and fiction of his own inventing, Darius having never conceived any such design. The artifice however served his purpose extremely well, not only for justifying him to the Ionians, but also for engaging them to prosecute the war with vigour. For being alarmed at the thoughts of this transmigration,

* This island is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore apt to believe, it must be an error that has crept into the text of Herodotus.
† Herod. l. v. c. 103. 104. 108. 122. ‡ Herod. l. vi. c. 1—5. § Ibid. c. 2.

they came to a firm resolution to defend themselves against the Persians to the last extremity.

A. M. 3597. Artaphernes and Otanes,* with the rest of the Persian generals, finding that Miletus was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding that, if they could carry that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians, having intelligence of their design, determined in a general assembly to send no army into the field, but to fortify Miletus, and to furnish it to the utmost of their power with provisions, and all things necessary for enduring a siege; and to unite all their forces to engage the Persians at sea, their dexterity in maritime affairs inducing them to believe that they should have the advantage in a naval battle. The place of their rendezvous was Lade, a small isle over against Miletus, where they assembled a fleet of 353 vessels. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though stronger by one half with respect to the number of their ships, were afraid to hazard a battle, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert: so that when the two fleets came to engage, the ships of Samos, of Lesbos, and several other places sailed off, and returned to their own country, and the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above 100 vessels, which were all quickly overpowered by numbers, and almost entirely destroyed. After this, the city of Miletus was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who utterly destroyed it. This happened six years after Aristagoras's revolt. All the other cities, as well on the continent as on the sea coast and in the isles, returned to their duty soon after, either voluntarily or by force. Those persons that stood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handsomest of the young men were chosen to serve in the king's palace; and the young women were all sent into Persia; the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. These were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Aristagoras and Hystieus.

The latter of those two had his share also in the general calamity:† for that same year he was taken by the Persians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes caused him to be immediately hanged, without consulting Darius, lest that prince's affection for Hystieus should incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy should be left alive, who might create the Persians new troubles. It appeared by the sequel, that Artaphernes's conjecture was well grounded: for when Hystieus's head was brought to Darius, he expressed great dissatisfaction at the authors of his death, and caused the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a person to whom he had infinite obligations, the remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven on his mind, ever to be effaced by

* Herod. l. vi. c. 6—10, 21, 22.

† Ibid. c. 23, 24.

the greatness of any crimes he had afterwards committed. Hystiepus was one of those restless, bold, and enterprising spirits, in whom many good qualities are joined with still greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that promote the end they have in view; who look upon justice, probity, and sincerity, as mere empty names: who make no scruple to employ lying or fraud, treachery or even perjury, when it is to serve their turn; and who reckon the ruin of nations, or even their own country, as nothing, if necessary to their own elevation. His end was worthy his sentiments, and such as is common enough to those irreligious politicians, who sacrifice every thing to their ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God, than their interest and fortune.

SECTION VII.

The expedition of Darius's army against Greece.

A. M. 3516. Darius,* in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, Ant. J. C. 494. having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius the son of Gobryas, a young lord of an illustrious Persian family who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians. The king did not show much wisdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man, because he was a favourite, to all his oldest and most experienced generals; especially in so difficult a war, the success of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was infinitely concerned. His being son-in-law to the king was a quality, indeed, that might augment his influence, but added nothing to his real merit, or his capacity as a general.

Upon his arrival in Macedonia, into which he had marched with his land forces after having passed through Thrace, the whole country, terrified by his power, submitted. But his fleet attempting to double mount Athos (now called Capo Santo,) in order to gain the coasts of Macedonia, was attacked by so violent a storm, that upwards of 300 ships, with above 20,000 men, perished in the sea. His land army met at the same time with no less fatal a blow. For, being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked the Persian camp by night, made a great slaughter, and wounded Mardonius himself. All this ill success obliged him shortly after to return into Asia, with grief and confusion at his having miscarried both by sea and land in this expedition.

Darius perceiving, too late, that Mardonius's youth and inexperience had occasioned the defeat of his troops, recalled him, and put two other generals in his place, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The

king's thoughts were earnestly bent upon putting in execution the great design he had long had in his mind, which was, to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a signal vengeance on the people of Athens and Eretria, whose enterprise against Sardis was perpetually in his thoughts.

1. *The State of Athens. The characters of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides.*

Before we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refresh our memories with a view of the state of Athens at this time, which alone sustained the first shock of the Persians at Marathon; as also to form some idea beforehand of the great men who shared in that celebrated victory.

Athens, just delivered from that yoke of servitude which she had been forced to bear for above thirty years, under the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed the advantages of liberty, the sweetness and value of which were only heightened and improved by that short privation. Lacedæmon, which was at this time the mistress of Greece, and had contributed at first to this happy change in Athens, seemed afterwards to repent of her good offices; and growing jealous of the tranquillity she herself had procured for her neighbours, she attempted to disturb it, by endeavouring to reinstate Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, in the government of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitless, and served only to manifest her ill-will, and her grief to see Athens determined to maintain its independence even of Sparta itself. Hippias hereupon had recourse to the Persians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, sent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they must re-establish Hippias in his authority, unless they chose rather to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This second attempt succeeded no better than the first, and Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture. We shall see presently that he served as a conductor or guide to the Persian generals sent by Darius against Greece.

Athens, from the time of the recovery of her liberty, was quite another city than under her tyrants, and displayed a very different kind of spirit. Among the citizens,* Miltiades distinguished himself most in the war with the Persians, which we are going to relate. He was the son of Cimon, an illustrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half-brother by the mother's side, whose name was likewise Miltiades, of a very ancient and noble family in Ægina, who had lately been received into the number of the Athenian citizens. He was a person of great credit even in the time of Pisistratus; but, as he could not endure the yoke of a despotic government, he joyfully embraced the offer made him, of going to settle with a co-

* Herod. l. vi. c. 34. 41. Corn Nep. in Mil. cap. l.—iii.

lony in the Thracian Chersonesus, whither he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or, according to the language of those times, their tyrant. He, dying without children, left the sovereignty to Stesagoras, his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Cimon; and Stesagoras dying also without issue, the sons of Pisistratus, who then ruled the city of Athens, sent his brother Miltiades, the person we are now speaking of, into that country to be his successor. He arrived there, and established himself in the government in the same year that Darius undertook his expedition against the Scythians. He attended that prince with some ships as far as the Danube; and it was he who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and to return home without waiting for Darius. During his residence in the Chersonesus, he married Hegesipyla,* daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be said in the sequel. Miltiades, having for several reasons abdicated his government in Thrace, embarked, and took all that he had on board five ships, and set sail for Athens. There he settled a second time, and acquired great reputation.

At the same time two other citizens,† younger than Miltiades, began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely, Aristides and Themistocles. Plutarch observes, that the former of these two had endeavoured to form himself upon the model of Clisthenes, one of the greatest men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had greatly contributed to the restoring it at Athens, by expelling the Pisistratidæ out of that city. It was an excellent custom among the ancients, and which it were to be wished might prevail amongst us, that the young men, ambitious of public employments, particularly attached themselves to such aged and experienced persons,‡ as had distinguished themselves most eminently therein; and who, both by their conversation and example, could teach them the art of conducting themselves, and governing others with wisdom and discretion. Thus, says Plutarch, did Aristides attach himself to Clisthenes, and Cimon to Aristides; and he enumerates several others, and among the rest Polybius, whom we have mentioned so often, and who in his youth was the constant disciple, and faithful imitator, of the celebrated Philopœmen.

Themistocles and Aristides were of very different dispositions; but they both rendered great services to the commonwealth. Themistocles who, naturally inclined to popular government, omitted nothing that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain him friends; behaving himself with great affability and

* After the death of Miltiades, this princess had by a second husband a son, who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydides the historian. *Hæred.*

† *Plut. in Arist. p. 319, 320; & in Them. p. 112, 113. An seni sit ger. Resp. p. 790, 791*

‡ *Dicere à patris, sequi optimos. Tacit. in Agric.*

complaisance to every body, always ready to do service to the citizens, every one of whom he knew by name; nor was he very nice about the means he used to oblige them. Somebody talking with him once on this subject,* told him he would make an excellent magistrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more impartial, and if he was not biassed in favour of one more than another: *God forbid*, replied Themistocles, *I should ever set upon a tribunal, where my friends should find no more credit or favour than strangers.* Cleon, who appeared some time after at Athens, observed a quite different conduct, but yet such as was not wholly exempt from blame. When he came into the administration of public affairs, he assembled all his friends, and declared to them, that from that moment he renounced their friendship, lest it should prove an obstacle to him in the discharge of his duty, and cause him to act with partiality and injustice. This was doing them very little honour, and entertaining no very high opinion of them. But, as Plutarch says, it was not his friends, but his passions, that he ought to have renounced.

Aristides had the discretion to observe a just medium between these two vicious extremes. Being a favourer of aristocracy, in imitation of Lycurgus, whom he greatly admired, he in a manner struck out a new path of his own; not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expense of justice, and yet always ready to do them service when consistent with it. He carefully avoided making use of his friends' recommendations for obtaining employments, lest it should prove a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plausible pretext for them to require the same favour from him on the like occasion. He used to say, that the true citizen, or the honest man, ought to make no other use of his credit and power, than upon all occasions to practise what was honest and just, and engage others to do the same.

Considering this contrariety of principles and humours, we are not to wonder, if, during the administration of these great men, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles who was bold and enterprising, was sure almost always to find Aristides against him, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other's designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the public, lest he should gain too great an ascendant and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles, who had made some proposal really advantageous to the state, he could not contain himself, but cried aloud as he went out of the assembly, *that the Athenians would never prosper, till they threw them both into Barathrum*; the Barathrum was a pit, into which malefactors condemned to die were thrown.† But notwithstanding this mutual opposition, when the common interest was at stake, they were no

* Cic. de Senect. Plut. An seni sit ger. Resp. p. 806, 807.

† Plut. Apophthegm. p. 193.

longer enemies : and whenever they were to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they agreed together to lay aside all differences on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to resume them on their return, if they thought fit.

The predominant passion of Themistocles was ambition and the love of glory, which discovered itself from his childhood. After the battle of Marathron, of which we shall speak presently, when the people were every where extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themistocles generally appeared very thoughtful and melancholy : he spent whole nights without sleep, and was never seen at public feasts and entertainments as usual. When his friends, astonished at this change, asked him the reason of it, he made answer, *that Miltiades's trophies would not let him sleep*. These were a kind of spur, which never ceased to goad and animate his ambition. From this time Themistocles addicted himself wholly to arms ; and the love of martial glory wholly engrossed him.

As for Aristides, the love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions. What he was most particularly admired for, was his constancy and steadiness under the unforeseen changes to which those who have the administration of public affairs are exposed : for he was neither elevated with the honours conferred upon him, nor cast down at the contempt and disappointments he sometimes experienced. On all occasions he preserved his usual calmness and temper, being persuaded, that a man ought to give himself up entirely to his country, and to serve it with a perfect disinterestedness, as well with regard to glory as to riches. The general esteem in which he was held for the uprightness of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the interests of the state, and the sincerity of his virtue, appeared one day in the theatre, when one of *Æschylus's* plays was acting. For when the actor had repeated that verse which describes the character of *Amphiaraus*, *He does not desire to seem an honest and virtuous man, but really to be so*, the whole audience cast their eyes upon Aristides, and applied the eulogium to him.

Another thing related of him, with respect to a public employment, is very remarkable. He was no sooner made treasurer-general of the republic, than he made it appear that his predecessors in that office had cheated the state of vast sums of money, and, among the rest, Themistocles in particular ; for this great man, with all his merit, was not irreproachable on that head. For which reason, when Aristides came to pass his accounts, Themistocles raised a powerful faction against him, accused him of having embezzled the public treasure, and prevailed so far as to have him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the most virtuous part of the citizens, rising up against so unjust a sentence, not only the judgment was reversed, and the fine remitted, but he was elected treasurer again for the year ensuing. He then seemed to repent

of his former administration; and, by shewing himself more tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the secret of pleasing all that plundered the commonwealth. For, as he neither reprov'd them, nor narrowly inspect'd their accounts, all those plunderers grown fat with spoil and rapine, now extol'd Aristides to the skies. It would have been easy for him, as we perceive, to have enriched himself in a post of that nature, which seems, as it were, to invite a man to it by the many favourable opportunities it lays in his way; especially as he had to do with officers, who, for their part, were intent upon nothing but robbing the public, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treasurer their master, upon condition he did them the same favour.

These very officers now made interest with the people to have him continued a third year in the same employment. But when the time of election was come, just as they were upon the point of electing Aristides unanimously, he rose up, and warmly reprov'd the Athenian people; *What, says he, when I managed your treasure with all the fidelity and diligence an honest man is capable of, I met with the most cruel treatment, and the most mortifying return; and now that I have abandoned it to the mercy of all these robbers of the public, I am an admirable man, and the best of citizens! I cannot help declaring to you that I am more ashamed of the honour you do me this day, than I was of the condemnation you pass'd against me this time twelvemonth; and with grief I find that it is more glorious with us to be complaisant to knaves, than to save the treasures of the republic.* By this declaration he silenced the public plunderers, and gained the esteem of all good men.

Such were the characters of these two illustrious Athenians, who began to display the extent of their merit, when Darius turn'd his arms against Greece.

II. *Darius sends heralds into Greece, in order to sound the people, and to require them to submit.*

A. M. 3511. Before this prince would directly engage in this enterprise, he judg'd it expedient, first of all, to sound the Grecians, and to know in what manner the different states stood affected towards him.* With this view he sent heralds into all parts of Greece, to require earth and water in his name this was the form used by the Persians when they exacted submission from those they were desirous of bringing under subjection. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Grecian cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands: and among these were the inhabitants of Ægina, a little isle, over against and not far from Athens. This proceeding of the people of Ægina was look'd upon as a public treason. The Athenians

* Herod. l. vi. c. 40—86.

represented the matter to the Spartans, who immediately sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of it. The people of Ægina refused to deliver them, under pretence that he came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself suggested that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family; and succeeded in his attempt by the assistance of the priestess of Delphi, whom he had suborned to give an answer favourable to his designs. Demaratus, not being able to endure so gross an affront, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with open arms, and gave him a considerable establishment in Persia. He was succeeded in the throne by Leutychides, who joined his colleague, and went with him to Ægina from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants, and committed them to the custody of the Athenians, their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long after, and the fraud he had committed at Delphi being discovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to set those prisoners at liberty; but they refused.

The Persian heralds that went to Sparta and Athens,* were not so favourably received as those that had been sent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take thence earth and water. I should be less surprised at this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding suitable enough to a popular government, rash, impetuous, and violent; where reason is seldom heard, and every thing determined by passion. But I do not here recognize the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuse what was demanded; but to treat public officers in such a manner was an open violation of the law of nations. If what historians say on this head be true,† the crime did not remain unpunished. Talthybius, one of Agamemnon's heralds, was honoured at Sparta as a god, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Persia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appease him, and to expiate their offence, they sent afterwards several of their chief citizens into Persia, who voluntarily offered themselves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hands of Xerxes, who would not let them suffer, but sent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage committed upon Darius's heralds.

* Herod. l. vii. c. 133. 138.

† Ibid. l. vii. c. 135, * 136. Pass. in Lacon. p. 182, 183.

III. *The Persians defeated at Marathon by Miltiades. The melancholy end of that general.*

A. M. 3514. Darius immediately sent away Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed generals in the room of Mardonius. Their instructions were to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houses and temples therein, to make all the inhabitants of both places prisoners, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. They set sail with a fleet of 5 or 600 ships,* and an army of 500,000 men. After having made themselves masters of the isles in the *Ægean* sea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their course towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants: they reduced it entirely to ashes, put all the inhabitants in chains and sent them to Persia. Darius,† contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly, and gave them a village in the country of Cissia for their habitation, which was but a day's journey from Susa, where Apollonius Tyanæus found some of their descendants 600 years afterwards.‡

After this success at Eretria,§ the Persians advanced towards Attica. Hippias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the sea-side. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria; and to let them know, that not an inhabitant of that place had escaped their vengeance, in hopes that this news would induce them to surrender immediately. The Athenians had sent to Lacedæmon, to desire succours against the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them instantly, and without deliberation; but which could not set out till some days after, on account of an ancient custom and a superstitious maxim amongst them, that did not admit them to begin a march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to succour them, so great terror had the formidable army of the Persians spread on every side. The inhabitants of Platææ alone furnished them with 1000 soldiers. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their slaves, which had never been done there before this occasion.

The Persian army commanded by Datis consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse: that of the Athenians amounted in all but to 10,000 men. It was headed by ten generals, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and these ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, one after another. There was a great dispute among these generals whether they should hazard a battle, or expect the enemy within their walls. The latter opinion had a great majority, and appeared very reasonable. For, what appear-

* *Plut. in Moral.* p. 839.

† *Herod. l. iv. c. 119.**

‡ *Philostr. l. i. c. 17.*

§ *Herod. l. vi. c. 103—120.*

Cor. Nep. in Milit. c. iv.—vi.

Justin. l. ii. c. 2. Plut. in

Aristid. n. 321.

ance of success could there be in facing with a handful of soldiers so numerous and formidable an army as that of the Persians? Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and showed that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to strike a terror into those of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Aristides strenuously defended this opinion, and brought some of the other commanders into it; so when the suffrages came to be taken, they were equal on both sides of the question. Hereupon Miltiades addressed himself to Callimachus, who was then polemarch,* and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly represented to him, that the fate of their country was then in his hands; and that his single vote was to determine whether Athens should preserve her liberty, or be enslaved; and that he had it in his power by one word to become as famous as Harmodius and Aristogiton, the authors of that liberty which the Athenians enjoyed. Callimachus pronounced that word in favour of Miltiades's opinion; and accordingly a battle was resolved upon.

Aristides, reflecting that a command which changes every day must necessarily be feeble, unequal, not of a piece, often contrary to itself, and incapable either of projecting or executing any uniform design, was of opinion, that their danger was both too great and too pressing for them to expose their affairs to such inconveniences. In order to prevent them, he judged it necessary to vest the whole power in one single person; and to induce his colleagues to act conformably, he himself set the first example of resignation. When the day came on which it was his turn to take upon him the command, he resigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general. The other commanders did the same, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the love of the public good; and by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almost as glorious to acknowledge merit in other persons, as to have it in one's self. Miltiades, however, thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to gain what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should not be able either to surround him, or charge him in the rear. On the two sides of the army he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpose, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless. Datis, their commander, was very sensible that the place was not advantageous for him; but, relying upon the number of his troops, which was infinitely superior to that of the Athenians, and, besides, not being willing to stay till the reinforcement of the Spartans arrived, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for the enemy's charging them. As soon as the

* The polemarch at Athens was both an officer and a considerable magistrate, equally employed to command in the army and to administer justice. I shall give a larger account of this officer in another place.

signal of battle was given, they ran against the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Persians looked upon this first step of the Athenians as a piece of madness, considering their army was so small, and utterly destitute both of cavalry and archers: but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus observes, that this was the first time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner; which may seem somewhat astonishing. And, indeed, was there not reason to apprehend, that their running would in some measure weaken the troops, and blunt the edge of their first impetuosity? and that the soldiers, having quitted their ranks, might be out of breath, exhausted, and in disorder, when they came up to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them in good order, and without stirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to sustain their charge advantageously? This consideration engaged Pompey,* at the battle of Pharsalia, to keep his troops steady, and to forbid them making any movement till the enemy made the first attack; but† Caesar blames Pompey's conduct in this respect, and gives this reason for it: that the impetuosity of an army's motion in running to engage, inspires the soldiers with a certain enthusiasm and martial fury, gives an additional force to their blows, and increases and inflames their courage, which, by the rapid movement of so many thousand men together, is blown up and kindled, if I may use that expression, like flames by the wind. I leave it to military men to decide the point between those two great captains, and return to my subject.

The battle was very fierce and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak, and not so deep; the reason of which seems manifest enough. Having but 10,000 men to oppose to such a multitude of the enemy, it was impossible for him either to make an extensive front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice; and he imagined that he could gain the victory no otherwise than by the efforts he should make with his two wings, to break and disperse those of the Persians; not doubting but, when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to attack the enemy's main body in flank, and complete the victory without much difficulty. This was the same plan as Hannibal followed afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which succeeded so well with him, and which indeed can scarce ever fail of succeeding. The Persians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greatest effort particularly upon their front.

* Cœs. in Bell. Civil. l. iii.

† Plut. in Pomp. p. 636. in Cœs. p. 719.

‡ Quod nobis quidem nullâ ratione factum à Pompeio videtur: propterea quodd est quam incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quæ studio pugne incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent. Cœs.

Καίσαρ περὶ τοῦτο διαμαρτυρεῖται πρὸς τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἀγνοῶντα, τὴν ἀνὰ δόξον καὶ φόβον ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένην σύμβαξιν, ὥς ἴντε ταῖς πλῆγαις βίαν προστίθῃσι, καὶ συνικαίῃ τὸν δόμον ἐν πάντων ἀσπίδιζόμενον. Plut. in Cœs.

This was led by Aristides and Themistocles, who supported the attack a long time with an intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very instant came up their two victorious wings, which had defeated those of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more seasonable for the main body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite borne down by the number of the Persians. The scale was quickly turned, and the Barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themselves to flight, not towards their camp, but to their ships, that they might make their escape. The Athenians pursued them thither, and set many of their vessels on fire. It was on this occasion that Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, who had laid hold of one of the ships, in order to get into it with those that fled, had his right hand cut off,* and fell into the sea and was drowned. The Athenians took seven ships. They had not above 200 men killed on their side in this engagement; whereas on the side of the Persians about 6000 were slain, without reckoning those who fell into the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those that were consumed with the ships set on fire.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father Pisistratus over the Athenians, had the baseness to become a servile courtier to a Barbarian prince, and to implore his aid against his native country. Urged on by hatred and revenge, he suggested all the means he could invent to load his country with chains; and even put himself at the head of its enemies, to reduce that city to ashes to which he owed his birth, and against which he had no other ground of complaint, than that she would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignominious death, together with everlasting infamy entailed upon his name, was the just reward of so black a treachery.

Immediately after the battle,† an Athenian soldier, still reeking with the blood of the enemy, quitted the army, and ran to Athens to carry his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magistrates' house, he only uttered two words, *Rejoice the victory, is ours,†* and fell down dead at their feet.

The Persians had thought themselves so sure of victory,‡ that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a statue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddess Nemesis,|| who had a temple near the place where the battle was fought.

* Justin adds, that Cynægirus, having first had his right and then his left hand cut off with an axe, laid hold of the vessel with his teeth, and would not let go, so violent was his rage against the enemy. This account is utterly fabulous, and has not the least appearance of truth.

† Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 347.

‡ *Χαίρετε, Χαίρετε*. I could not render the liveliness of the Greek expression in our language.

§ Paus. l. i. p. 62.

|| This was the goddess whose business it was to punish injustice and oppression.

The Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to re-enter Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprising Athens before the Athenian forces should arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to secure their country, and performed their march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day. The distance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great exertion for an army that had just undergone a long and severe battle. By this means the design of the Persians miscarried.

Aristides, the only general that staid at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the spoil and prisoners, acted suitably to the good opinion that was entertained of him. For, though gold and silver were scattered about in abundance in the enemy's camp, and though all the tents as well as galleys that were taken, were full of rich clothes and costly furniture, and treasure of all kinds, to an immense value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himself, but hindered every body else from touching it.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with 2000 men; and, having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days' forced march; the distance from Sparta to Attica being no less than 1200 stadia, or 150 English miles. The battle was fought the day before they arrived;* however, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy success of the battle, they returned to their own country.

They were hindered by a foolish and ridiculous superstition from having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history. For it is almost without example, that such a handful of men, as the Athenians were, should not only make head against so numerous an army as that of the Persians, but should entirely route and defeat them. One is astonished to see so formidable a power attack so small a city and miscarry; and we are almost tempted to question the truth of an event that appears so improbable, which nevertheless is very certain. This battle alone shows what wonderful things may be performed by an able general, who knows how to take his advantages; by the intrepidity of soldiers that are not afraid of death: by a zeal for one's country; the love of liberty; a hatred and detestation of slavery and tyranny; which were sentiments natural to the Athenians, but undoubtedly very much augmented and inflamed by the very presence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their master, after all that had passed between them.

Plato,† in more places than one, makes it his business to extol the battle of Marathon, and is desirous that action should be considered

* *Idem. in Epistola. p. 112.*

† *Idem. in Meno. p. 220, 240. Et lib. iii. de Leg. p. 692, 699.*

as the source and original cause of all the victories that were gained afterwards. It was undoubtedly this victory that deprived the Persian power of that terror which had rendered them so formidable, and had made every thing stoop before them: it was this victory that taught the Grecians to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name; that made them find by experience, that victory does not depend so much upon the number as the courage of troops; that set before their eyes, in a most conspicuous light, the glory there is in sacrificing one's life in defence of our country, and for the preservation of liberty; and lastly, that inspired them, through the whole course of succeeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm desire to imitate their ancestors, and not to degenerate from their virtue. For, on all important occasions, it was customary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop, that is, of that little army of heroes, whose intrepidity and bravery had done so much honour to Athens.

Those that were slain in the battle,* had all the honour immediately paid to them that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them all, in the very place where the battle was fought; upon which their own names and that of their tribes were recorded. There were three distinct sets of monuments separately erected, one for the Athenians, another for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves whom they had admitted among their soldiers on that occasion. Miltiades's tomb was erected afterwards in the same place.

The reflection Cornelius Nepos† makes upon what the Athenians did to honour the memory of their general, deserves to be taken notice of. Formerly, says he, speaking of the Romans, our ancestors rewarded virtue by marks of distinction, neither pompous nor magnificent, which however was rarely granted, and for that very reason were highly esteemed; whereas now they are so profusely bestowed, that little or no value is set upon them. The same thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was, that, in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was represented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. But this same people in later ages, being grown more powerful, and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed 300 statues to Demetrius Phalereus.

Plutarch makes the same reflection,‡ and wisely observes, that the honour which is paid to great men ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their illustrious actions, but only as a mark

* Paus. in Attic. p. 60, 61: gor. p. 620.

† Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. vi.

‡ In princ. de rep.

§ Οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν εἶναι αὐτῇ τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ σόμβολον, τὸν τιμὴν, ἵνα καὶ διαμένῃ πολλὸν χρόνον.

of esteem in which they are held, the remembrance whereof such monuments are intended to perpetuate. It is not then the stateliness or magnificence of public monuments which gives them their value, or makes them durable, but the sincere gratitude of those that erect them. The 300 statues of Demetrius Phalereus were all thrown down even in his own life-time, but the picture in which Miltiades's courage was represented was preserved many ages after him.

This picture was kept at Athens in a gallery adorned and enriched with different paintings,* all excellent in their kind, and done by the greatest masters; which, for that reason, was called *Pœcile*, from the Greek word *ποικίλη*, signifying varied and diversified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the isle of Thasos, and one of the finest painters of his time, painted this picture, or at least the greatest part of it; and, as he valued himself upon his reputation, and was more attached to glory than interest, he did it gratuitously, and would not receive any recompense for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him with a sort of coin that was more acceptable to his taste, by procuring an order from the Amphyctions which assigned him a public lodging in the city, where he might live during his own pleasure.

The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades was of no very long duration.† After the battle of Marathon, he had desired and obtained the command of a fleet of seventy ships, in order to punish and subdue the islands that had favoured the Barbarians. Accordingly he reduced several of them; but having had ill success in the isle of Paros, and, upon a false report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raised the siege which he had laid to the capital, wherein he had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet; and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accused him of having raised the siege through treachery, and in consideration of a great sum of money given him by the king of Persia. Little probability as there was in this accusation, it nevertheless prevailed over the merit and innocence of Miltiades. He was condemned to lose his life,‡ and to be thrown into the Barathrum; a sentence passed only upon the greatest criminals and malefactors. The magistrate opposed the execution of so unjust a condemnation. All the favour shown to this preserver of his country, was to have the sentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or 50,000 crowns French money, being the sum to which the expenses of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his solicitation and advice, amounted. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was put into prison, where he died of the wound he had received at Paros. Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized his piety on this occasion, as we shall find hereafter he signalized his courage. He purchased

* Plin. l. xxiv. c. 9.

† Plat. in Gorg. p. 516.

‡ Herod. l. vi. c. 132. 136. Cœ. Nep. in Milt. c. vii. viii.

the permission of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of 50,000 crowns, in which he had been condemned; which sum the young man raised, as well as he could, by the assistance of his friends and relations.

Cornelius Nepos observes, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner with regard to Miltiades, was his very great merit and reputation, which made the people, who were but lately delivered from the yoke of slavery under Pisistratus, apprehend that Miltiades, who had formerly been tyrant of the Chersonesus, might affect the same at Athens. They therefore chose rather to punish an innocent person,* than to be under perpetual apprehensions of him. To this same principle was the institution of the ostracism at Athens owing. I have elsewhere† given an account of the most plausible reasons upon which the ostracism could be founded: but I do not see how we can fully justify so strange a policy, to which all merit becomes suspected, and virtue itself appears criminal.

This appears plainly in the banishment of Aristides.‡ His inviolable attachment to justice obliged him on many occasions to oppose Themistocles, who did not pique himself upon his delicacy in that respect, and who spared no intrigues and cabals to engage the suffrages of the people, for removing a rival who always opposed his ambitious designs. In this instance it was evident,§ that a person may be superior in merit and virtue, without being so in influence. The impetuous eloquence of Themistocles prevailed over the justice of Aristides, and occasioned his banishment. In this kind of trial the citizens gave their suffrages by writing the name of the accused person upon a shell, called in Greek *ostrakon*, from whence came the term Ostracism. On this occasion a peasant, who could not write, and did not know Aristides, applied to him, and desired him to put the name of Aristides upon his shell. *Has he done you any wrong,* says Aristides, *that you are for condemning him in this manner?* *No,* replied the other, *I do not so much as know him; but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every body call him the Just.* Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote his name in it, and returned it. He set out for his banishment, imploring the gods that no accident might befall his country, to make it regret him. The great Camillus,|| in a like case, did not imitate his generosity, and prayed to a quite different effect, desiring the gods to force his ungrateful country, by some misfortune, to have occasion for his aid, and to recall him as soon as possible.

O fortunate republic, exclaims Valerius Maximus,¶ speaking of

* Hæc populus respiciens emulavit eum innocentem plebei, quam se ditius esse in timore.
† Method of teaching, &c. vol. iii. p. 407.

‡ Plut. in Arist. p. 322, 323.

§ In his cognitum est, quante antistaret eloquentia innocentis. Quamquam enim adeo excelebat Aristides abstinentiâ, et unius post hominum memoriam, quod quidem non audierimus, cognominæ Justus est appellatus; tamen à Themistocle collabefactus tactu illa exilio decem annorum multatus est. *Cer. Nep. in Arist.*

|| In exilium abiit, precatus ab diis immortalibus, si innoxio sibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratis facerent. *Liv. l. v. c. 32.*

¶ Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

Aristides's banishment, which after having so basely treated the most virtuous man it ever produced, was yet able to find citizens zealously and faithfully attached to her service! *Felices Athenæ, quæ post illius exilium invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem sui civem potuerunt; cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit!*

SECTION VIII.

Darius resolves to make war in person against Egypt and against Greece; is prevented by death. Dispute between two of his sons, concerning the succession to the crown. Xerxes is chosen king.

When Darius received the news of the defeat of his army at Marathon,* he was violently enraged; and that bad success was so far from discouraging or diverting him from carrying on the war against Greece, that it only served to animate him to pursue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the same time for the burning of Sardis, and for the dishonour incurred at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in person with all his forces, he despatched orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of his empire to arm themselves for this expedition.

A. M. 3517. After having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, he had another war to carry on, Ant. J. C. 487. occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. It seems from what we read in Diodorus Siculus,† that Darius went thither himself to quell it, and that he succeeded. That historian relates, that upon this prince's desiring to have his statue placed before Sesostris, the chief priest of the Egyptians told him *he had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror*; and that the king, far from being offended at the Egyptian priest's freedom, made answer, that he would endeavour to surpass it. Diodorus adds farther, that Darius, detesting the impious cruelty which his predecessor Cambyses had exercised in that country, expressed great reverence for their gods and temples, that he had several conversations with the Egyptian priests upon matters of religion and government; and that, having learnt of them, with what gentleness their ancient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Persia, to form himself upon their model. But Herodotus,‡ more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only observes, that this prince, resolving at once to chastise his revolted subjects, and to be avenged of his ancient enemies, determined to make war against both at the same time, and to attack Greece in person with the main body of his army, while the rest of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.

A. M. 3518. According to the ancient custom among the Persians,§ Ant. J. C. 485. their king was not allowed to go to war, without having first named the person that should succeed him in the throne; a cus-

* Herod. . vi. c. 1 † Lib. i. p. 54. 85. ‡ Liv. vi. c. 2. § Herod. i. vi. c. 2, 3

tom wisely established to prevent the state's being exposed to the troubles which generally attend the uncertainty of a successor, to the inconveniences of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders. Darius, before he undertook his expedition against Greece, thought himself the more obliged to observe this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a dispute between two of his sons on the subject of succeeding to the empire, which might occasion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four more by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's accession to the throne: Artabazanes, called by Justin Artamenes, was the eldest of the former, and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alleged in his own behalf, that, as he was the eldest of all the brothers, the right of succession, according to the custom and practice of all nations, belonged to him in preference to all the rest. Xerxes's argument was, that as he was the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire, it was more just that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon one of his descendants, than upon one that was not. Demaratus, the Spartan king, who had been unjustly deposed by his subjects, and was at that time in exile at the court of Persia, secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions: that Artabazanes was indeed the eldest son of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldest son of the king; and therefore, Artabazanes being born when his father was but a private person, all he could pretend to, on account of his seniority, was only to inherit his private estate; but that he, Xerxes, being the first-born son of the king, had the best right to succeed to the crown. He farther supported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom but those children that were born after their father's accession. The right of succession was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

Justin* and Plutarch place this dispute after Darius's decease. They both take notice of the prudent conduct of these two brothers in a point of so much delicacy. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was absent when the king died; and Xerxes immediately assumed all the marks, and exercised all the functions, of the sovereignty. But upon his brother's return, he quitted the diadem and the tiara, which he wore in such a manner as only suited the king, went out to meet him, and showed him all imaginable respect. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and without any farther appeal, to acquiesce in his decision.† All the while this dispute lasted, the

* Justin. l. ii. c. 10. Plut. de frat. amore, p. 498.

† Adhuc fraterna contentio fuit, ut nec victor insultaverit, nec victus doluerit; ipsaque litis tempore invicem munera miserint; jucunda quoque inter se non solum, sed credula convivia habuerint; judicium quoque ipsum sine arbitrio, sine convitiis fuerit. Tanto mode-

two brothers showed one another all the demonstrations of a truly fraternal friendship, by keeping up a continual intercourse of presents and entertainments, from whence their mutual esteem and confidence for each other banished all fears and suspicions on both sides; and introduced an unconstrained cheerfulness and a perfect security. This is a spectacle, says Justin, highly worthy of our admiration: to see, whilst most brothers are at daggers-drawing with one another about a small patrimony, with what moderation and temper both waited for a decision, which was to dispose of the greatest empire then in the universe. When Artabanes gave judgment in favour of Xerxes, Artabanes the same instant prostrated himself before him, acknowledging him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which proceeding he showed a greatness of soul truly royal, and infinitely superior to all human dignities. This ready acquiescence in a sentence so contrary to his interests, was not the effect of an artful policy, that knows how to dissemble upon occasion, and to derive honour to itself from what it could not prevent: no; it proceeded from a real respect for the laws, a sincere affection for his brother, and an indifference for that which so warmly inflames the ambition of mankind, and so frequently arms the nearest relations against each other. For his part, during his whole life, he continued firmly attached to the interests of Xerxes, and prosecuted them with so much ardour and zeal, that he lost his life in his service at the battle of Salamis.

To whatever time this dispute is to be placed,* it is certain that Darius could not carry into execution the double expedition he was meditating against Egypt and Greece, and that he was prevented by death from pursuing that project. He had reigned thirty-six years. The epitaph† of this prince, which contains a boast that he could drink much without disordering his reason, proves that the Persians actually thought that circumstance for their glory. We shall see in the sequel, that Cyrus the Younger ascribes this quality to himself, as a perfection that rendered him more worthy of the throne than his elder brother. Who in these times would think of annexing this merit to the qualifications of a good prince?

Darius had many excellent qualities, but they were attended with great failings; and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. For such is the condition of princes,‡ that they never act nor live for themselves alone. Whatever they do, either as to good or evil, they do it for their people; and the interests of the one and the other are inseparable. Darius had a great fund of gentleness, equity, clemency, and kindness for his people: he loved justice, and respected the laws: he esteemed merit, and was careful

patris tum fratres inter se regna maxima dividebant, quàm nunc exigua patrimonie partuntur. Justin.

* Herod. l. vi. c. 4.

† *ἡδυνάμην καὶ σίτοι πίνον πάλαι, καὶ ταῦτον οἶνον πάλαι. Athen. l. x. p. 434.*

‡ *Si non eritis, ut bene malisve vestra ad comp. pertineant Tacit. l. iv. c. 3.*

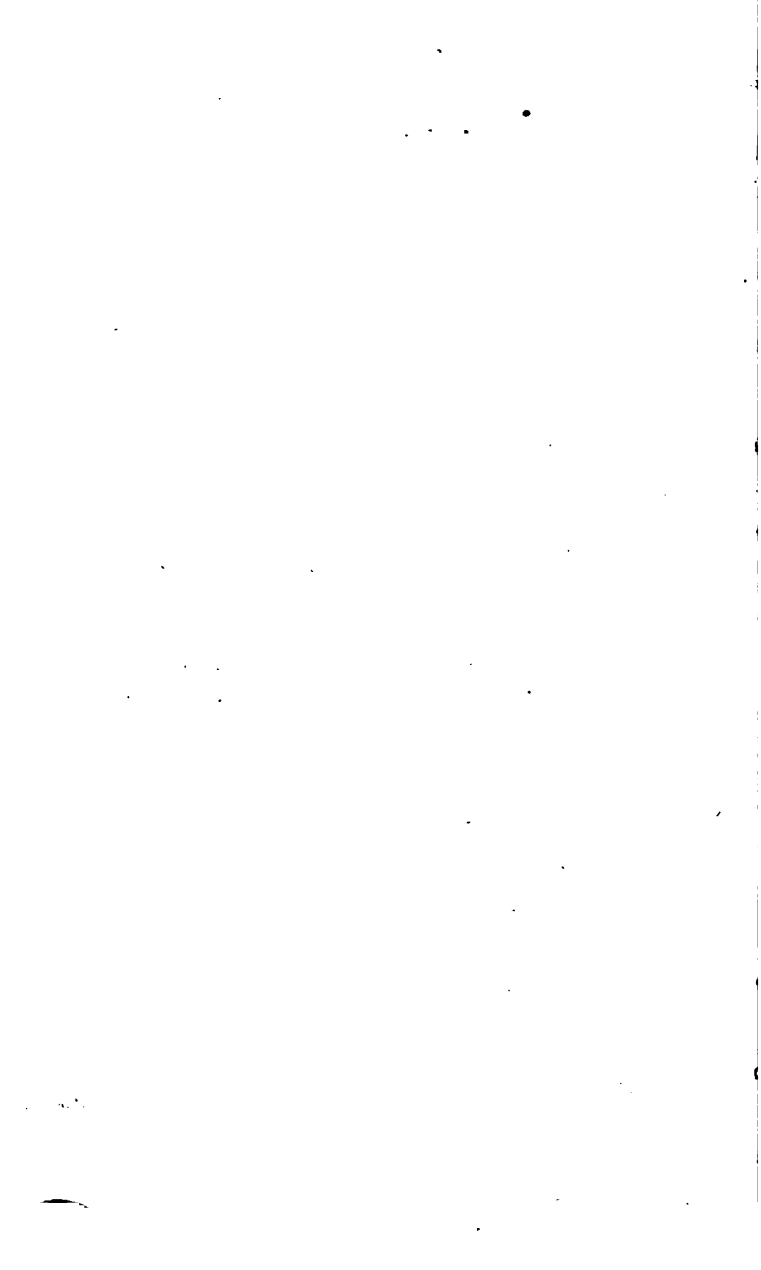
to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, so as to exact a forced homage, or to render himself inaccessible; and notwithstanding his own great experience and abilities in public affairs, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counsels. It is of him the Holy Scripture* speaks, where it says, that he did nothing without consulting the wise men of his court. He was not afraid of exposing his person in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: he said of himself, that the most imminent and urgent danger served only to increase his courage and his prudence. In a word, there have been few princes more expert than he in the art of governing, or more experienced in the business of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if indeed it be glory, wanting to his character. For he not only restored and entirely confirmed the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much shaken by the ill conduct of Cambyses and the Magian impostor; but he likewise added many great and rich provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the Isles contiguous to the coasts of Ionia.

But sometimes these good qualities of his gave way to failings of a quite opposite nature. Do we see any thing like Darius's usual gentleness and good-nature in his treatment of that unfortunate father, who desired the favour of him to leave him one of his three sons at home, while the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occasion wherein he had more need of counsel, than when he formed the design of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice than what his brother gave him upon that occasion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wisdom or prudence? What do we see in all that affair, but a prince intoxicated with his greatness, who fancied there is nothing in the world that can resist him; and whose weak ambition to signalize himself by an extraordinary conquest, had stifled all the good sense, judgment, and even military knowledge, he formerly displayed?

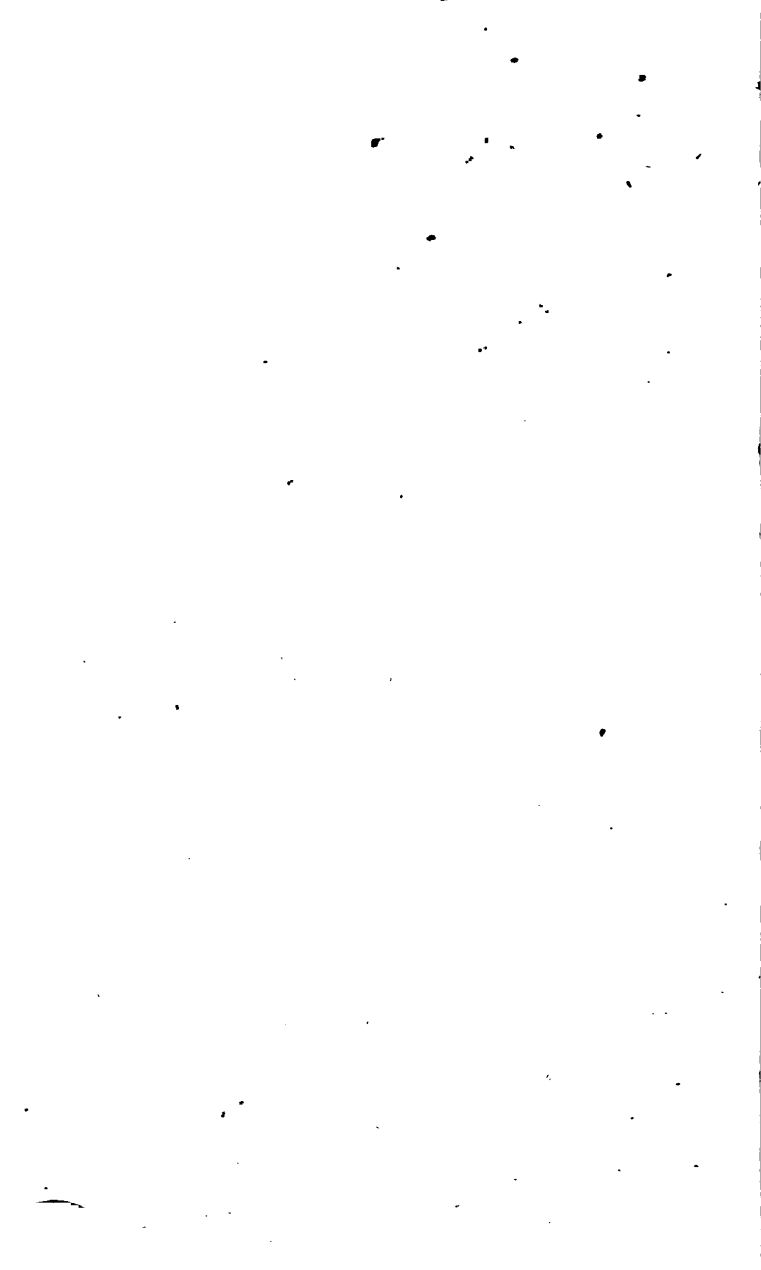
What constitutes the solid glory of Darius's reign is, his being chosen by God himself, as Cyrus had been before, to be the instrument of his mercies towards his people, the declared protector of the Israelites, and the restorer of the temple at Jerusalem. The reader may see this part of history in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.

* Esth. i. 12.

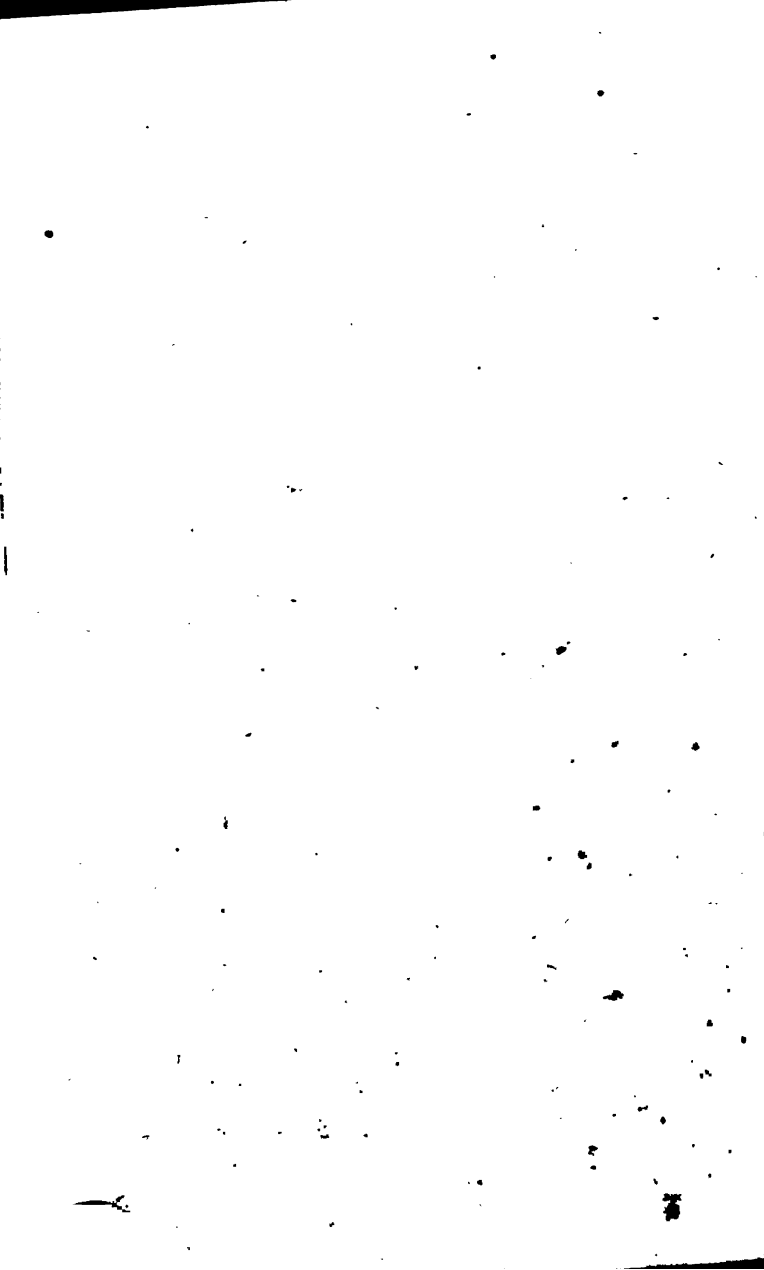
† Hist. in Apoc. p. 172.





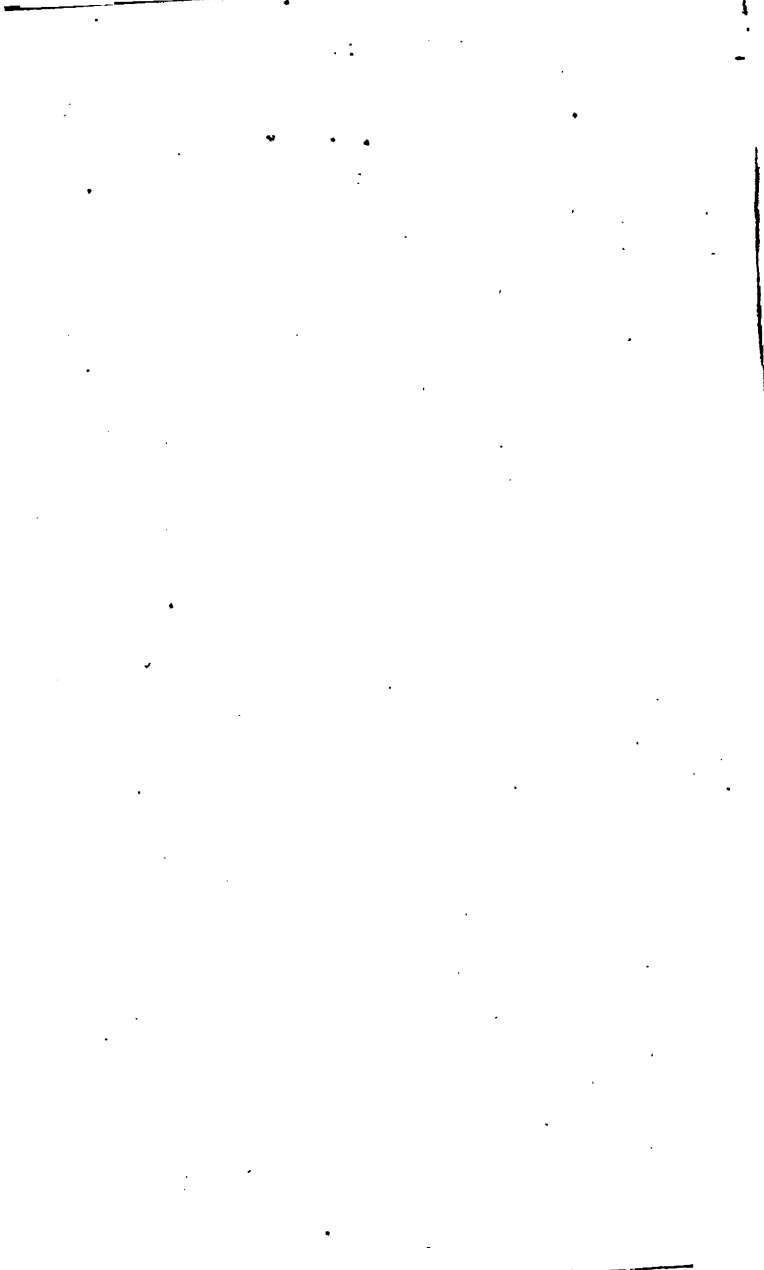


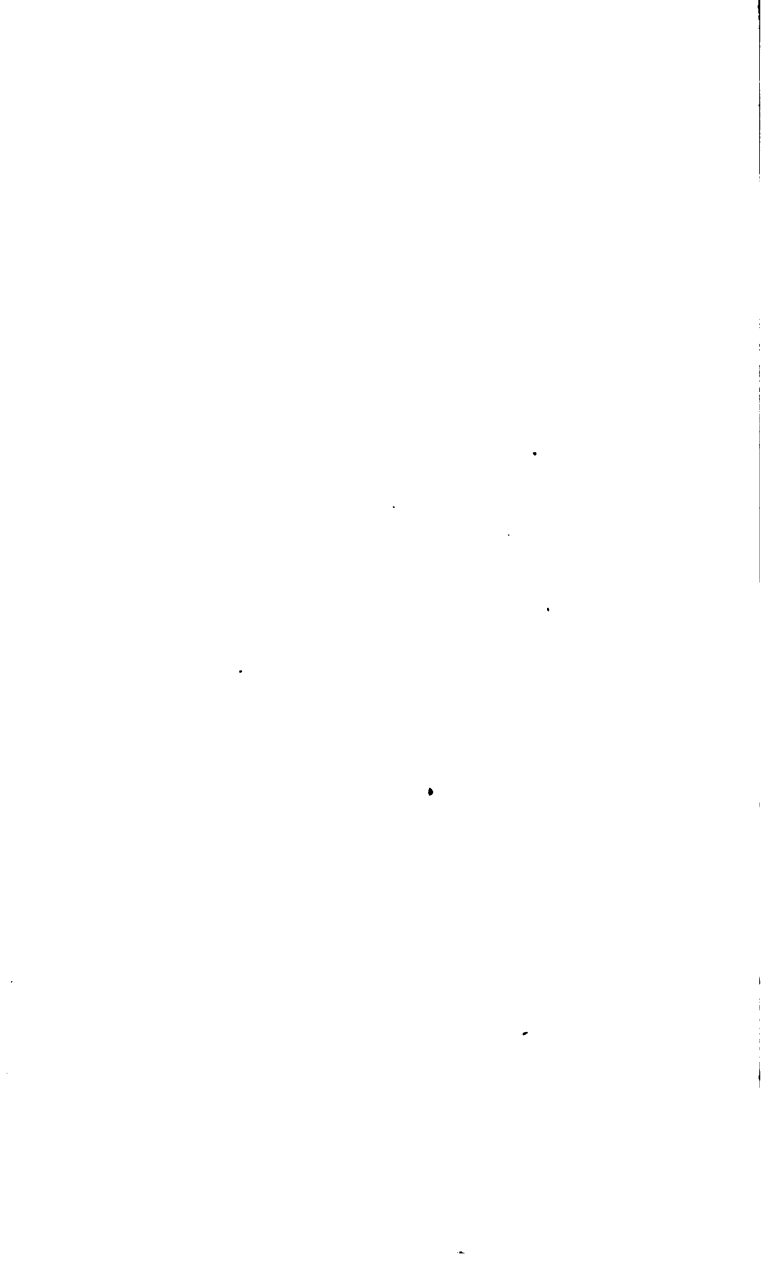


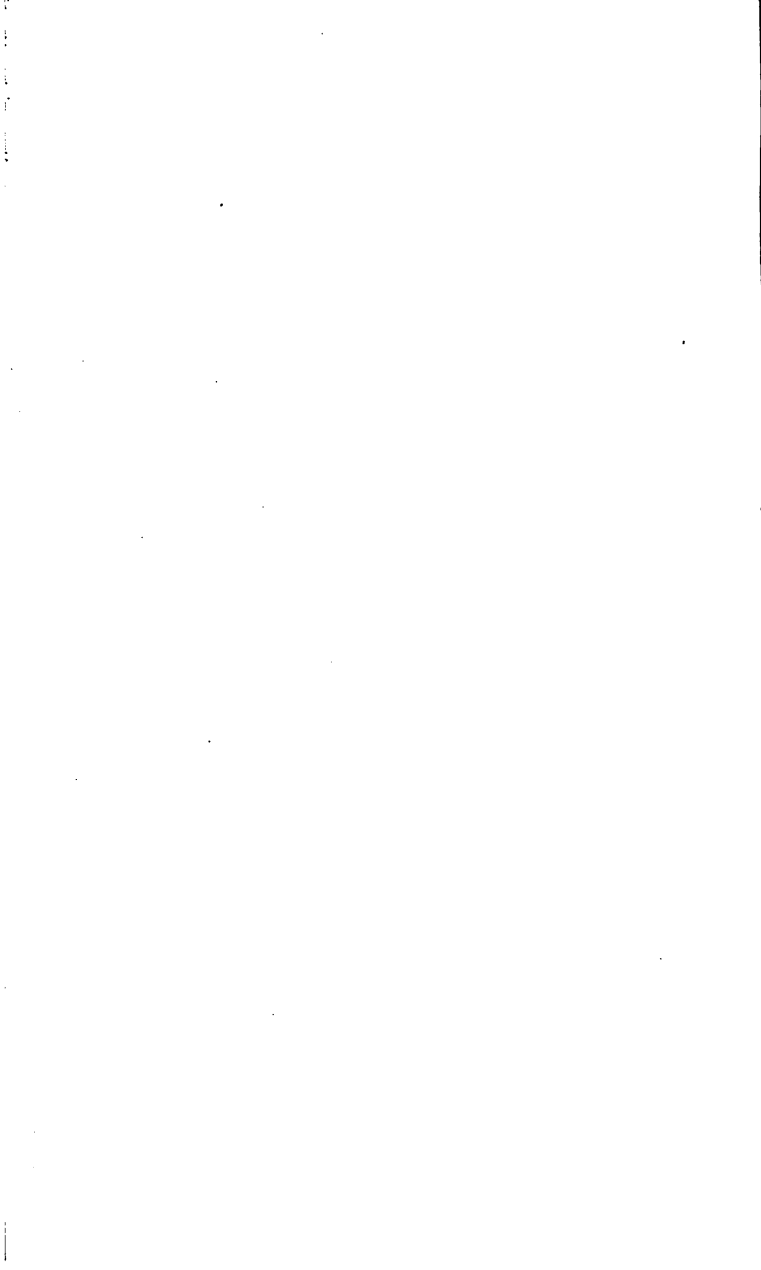












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